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G.S.A. Ranking and R.F. Azoo.
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أحسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم

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George Ranking

al-Moqaddasi, (Shams ad-din Abū Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ahmed ibn abī Bekr al-Bannā al-Basshārī), Descriptio Imperii Moslemici. Ed. 2da. Lugduni Batavorum 1906. 8°
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IN THE NAME OF GOD THE ALL-MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE, AID AND ASSIST ME, BY THY GRACE, O MERCIFUL LORD!

Praise be to God who arranged in due order the mass of things He created;[1] and perfectly elaborated all that he designed. He fashioned the world, unaided by a counsellor; and ordered it without a helper. With what completeness has He made it! and to what perfection has He, unaided, brought it! He fastened the earth by the mountains[2] that it should not be moved; and surrounded it with the Ocean[3] that its waters might not prevail and overflow. And He scattered over it His servants, that He might see how they would behave: and of them, some believed and were rightly guided, while some refused belief and turned their backs. And may the blessing and peace of God be, again and again, upon the best of Creation and the noblest of men, Muḥammad, and upon his Family and Companions.

Thus proceeds Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī:—The learned invariably take to literary compositions with eagerness; that their traces may not be effaced, nor their lives forgotten. My desire has been to follow their example

[1] Ḥājī Khalfa, or more properly al-Ḥājj Khalīfah, in his notice of this work (Vol. I. 167), says that it begins with the words 'Praise be to God who created by His power,' خلق بقدرته. This is doubtless a variation at second hand from the original, for there can be no mistake as to the real words used by the author. The idea is to be found in Qur'ān, XXV. 2, وَخَلَقَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ فَقَدَّرَهُ تَقْدِيرًا, which is interpreted to mean that all created things were adjusted according to due comparative relation, and fitted to discharge their proper functions; thus carrying out the design of universal harmony. *See Kashshāf* in loco.

[2] Cf. Qur'ān, XVI. 15 and LXXVIII. 7. The mountains are figuratively called اوتاد الارض 'Stakes of the earth,' as they are supposed to be the means of giving stability to the earth. What wooden stakes are to a tent, they are said to be to the globe we inhabit.

[3] The earth, encircled as with a belt by the ocean, may be compared, says al-Idrīsī, to an egg placed in a basin full of water; one half of it is above water, and the other wholly immersed in the sea.

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and tread in their steps; and to plant a standard which shall keep alive my memory and be of service to the world, that therein I may please my Lord. On examination I found that those of the learned who have preceded in order of time have first produced original compositions upon the different sciences; and that it has fallen to the lot of their successors to comment upon their writings or epitomize them. I thought it expedient therefore to engage in a subject which they have disregarded, and to single out a branch of knowledge of which they have not treated save imperfectly. And THAT is the chorography of the Empire of Islām,—comprising a description of the deserts and seas, the lakes and rivers that it contains; its famous cities and noted towns; the resting-places on its roads and its highways of communication; the original sources of spices and drugs, and the places of growth and production of exports and staple commodities;—and containing an account of the inhabitants of the different countries as regards the diversity in their language and manner of speech; their dialects and complexions, and their religious tenets; their measures and weights, and their coins both
2. large and small; with particulars of their food and drink, their fruits and waters; an enumeration of their merits and demerits, and an account of their trade both export and import;—noting also the places of danger in the deserts, and the number of stages of the different journeys; the salt lands; the rocky wastes and sandy deserts; the hills, plains and mountains; the limestones and the sandstones; the fat and lean soils; the lands of plenty and fertility, and the places of scarcity and barrenness;—and mentioning the sacred and venerable places; the ports or towns where duties are levied; the special products of countries and the particular customs of the inhabitants; the various states and their boundaries; the cold and hot regions; the cantons and tribal quarters;[1] the rural divisions and frontier districts; the industrial arts and literary avocations; the lands not dependent upon irrigation and forest lands; and also the places connected with the rites and ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. I recognized that this subject is an all-important one for travellers and merchants, and indispensable to the godly and pious. It is desired by princes and noble personages; sought after by judges and

[1] *Rumūm*, the habitations of Kurdish tribes particularly.

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doctors of the law; the delight of commoners and men of rank; help to the traveller and a benefit to the merchant. Thus I could not essay the task of compilation till I had travelled through the whole kingdom, and visited the territories of Islām; had held converse with the learned and waited on princes; had discoursed with Qāḍhīs and studied under the doctors of law; had frequented the society of men of letters and the Readers (of the Qur'ān) and writers of the traditions; and had held familiar intercourse with religious persons and the Ṣūfīs and been present at the assemblies of narrators of stories and public preachers.[1] I was wont, moreover, to buy and sell in every town, and associate with people of all classes, giving everywhere close attention to the particulars of this science till I attained to a knowledge of it. I have measured the extent of the provinces in *farsakhs*, with all exactness; have travelled round the frontiers and defined their limits; visited the country towns and seen them; and inquired into the religious sects and become familiar with them; and I have duly remarked the dialects and complexions and have classified them; and have paid particular attention to the division of the provinces into districts. I have also inquired into the revenues and estimated their amount, and have examined likewise into the condition of climate and water. In accomplishing this I had to incur great expense both of money and labour; pursuing throughout what is legitimate and avoiding what is sinful; and dealing sincerely with the Muslims in expectation of reward; and reconciling myself to humiliation and absence from country and friends; and observing the laws of God and standing in fear of Him: having in the first place inspired my soul with the hope of reward and filled it with the ambition of renown and the dread of sin. 3.

In all I have here written I have carefully kept from falsehood and perversion of the truth, and have guarded myself by valid arguments against adverse criticism. I have not inserted in my writing mere possibilities or improbabilities, nor have I heeded

[1] Discoursers in public for the purpose of religious instruction are distinguished into *Quṣṣāṣ* and *Mudhakkirūn*. The Quṣṣāṣ *narrate* scriptural and kindred stories and explain them to the people. The Mudhakkirūn, on the other hand, *remind* their hearers of the mercies of God, urge them to thankfulness and warn them against disobedience. Cf. Gloss. Belādh. sub قضى.

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save the words of the most trustworthy of mankind. May God help us in our undertakings and move us by His grace to that which He desires and approves, for verily it is He whom we worship and it is to Him that we return.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS AND REMARKS OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE.

Know that I have built this work on the strongest foundations and supported it by powerful pillars. I have earnestly striven therein to arrive at accuracy, and have invariably sought the aid of intelligent men; and have asked God, whose name is glorious, to put away from me misapprehension and error, and help me to attain my desire and hope, so I might raise on high the pillars of this work, and compact its structure by the aid of the things I have known and understood, have seen and noticed. Thus the fabric was raised, and the columns and pillars established.[1] Among its pillars and supports, in the consolidation of which I obtained assistance, was the consultation with men of intelligence whom I knew to be free from such defects as absence of mind or confusion of ideas, concerning the districts and territories in distant parts, whither it was not in my power to undertake a journey. But only when their statements agreed, have I recorded them as facts; all accounts being rejected whenever they differed. There were things however which it was absolutely necessary that I should go and see personally, and this I have done; whilst all that could not take root in my mind or that my reason refused to admit, I have ascribed to the person who related it or have simply written, 'it is said.' I have supplemented it also, from the contents of the royal libraries.

No one of those who have treated this subject before me has adopted my method of procedure, or aimed at affording the useful information which I have attempted to give. First comes Abū

[1] The metaphorical style adopted by the author here, is of special interest, as alluding to the occupation of al-Muqaddasī's family which was architecture. His work is a building which he sets on strong foundations, and supports by powerful pillars. Al-Qairawānī (Ob. 453 H. 1062 A.D.), in his *Zahru-l Ādāb*, gives an interesting account of a party of literary men, of totally different occupations, who met together to define 'Eloquence,' each in terms appropriate to his calling; but although they were as many as eighteen, the architect was unfortunately not of the number.

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'Abdu-llah al-Jaihānī;[1] he was minister to the Prince of Khurāsān[2] and had a leaning towards the sciences of philosophy, astronomy and cosmography. Having assembled round him all the foreigners, he questioned them with respect to the various states and their revenues; the state of the roads leading to them; 4.
the altitude of the stars above their horizons, and the extent of the shadow therein (when the sun is in the meridian). His object was to devise means for territorial conquests, and gather information as to the resources of the different countries; besides the acquisition of sound knowledge in the science of the stars and revolutions of the spheres. Dost thou not see how he divided the world into seven climates and assigned to each climate its especial planet?[3] At one time he speaks of the stars and mathematics; and at another he discourses upon things of doubtful utility to the world at large. He now describes the idols of al-Hind, now descants upon the wonders of as-Sind, and then specifies in detail the taxes and land revenue. I find besides that he has mentioned several stations which were not known at all, and travelling stages that have long been deserted; at the same time he has failed to sub-divide the districts, or to arrange the townships they contain; neither has he described the cities or given their full number. He in short has done nothing but mention

[1] Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jaihānī, native of Jaihān, a town in Khurāsān on the bank of the Oxus. In 301 H. (913 A.D.), al-Amīr Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl as-Sāmānī, Lord of Khurāsān and Mā-warā'a-n Nahr, was murdered by his slaves while on a hunting expedition; and his son, Abu-l Ḥasan Naṣr, then only eight years of age, was raised to the Amīrship. Abū 'Abdu-llah al-Jaihānī was charged with the government in the name of Naṣr, and ruled with firmness and great wisdom. Al-Jaihānī's work was entitled *Kitābu-l Masālik fī Ma'rifati-l Mamālik*; but having died before he could complete it, the work was remodelled and abridged, according to Reinaud (Introduct. ad Abulf., p. 64), by Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī, commonly called Ibnu-l Faqīh; probably, he adds, the abridgment caused the original work to fall into neglect. See however, de Goeje's Preface to his edition of *Kitābu-l Buldān*, part V. of the Biblio. Geo. Arab. series.

[2] Abu-l Ḥasan Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, third of the dynasty of the Sāmānides. See last note.

[3] 1° Saturn, 2° Jupiter, 3° Mars, 4° the Sun, 5° Venus, 6° Mercury and 7° the Moon; according to the Persians. 1° Saturn, 2° the Sun, 3° Mercury, 4° Jupiter, 5° Venus, 6° the Moon and 7° Mars; according to the Greeks. Cf. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) III. 44.

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the routes that traverse the empire east and west and north and south, with an account of the plains and mountains, the valleys and hills, the woods and rivers that are found in it. In this way his book extended to great length, whilst most of the roads between a town and another and the description of pleasant cities have been omitted by him.[1] Abū Zaid al-Balkhī,[2] on the other hand, intended in his book chiefly the representation of the earth by maps. For this purpose he divided the earth into twenty parts; he then briefly described each map, without giving useful particulars or setting forth clearly and in order the facts worth knowing. He too passes over without mention many of the principal cities. Nor was he a man who has made journeys or visited any part of the country; seeing that, when the Prince of Khurāsān invited him to his court[3] to act as his adviser, he wrote to him on reaching the Oxus, "If it is in consideration of my reputed wisdom and sound judgment that you have called me to you, this same judgment now dissuades me from crossing this river;" upon reading this reply, the prince ordered him back to Balkh. As for Ibnu-l Faqīh al-Hamadhānī,[4] he too has followed a different course. He mentions only the larger towns and leaves the districts and townships unarranged. He also introduces in his book irrelevant literary matter; in one place denouncing the world and in another commending it; now

1 MS. C adds: I have seen his work in seven volumes in the libraries of 'Aḍhudu-d Daulah, but without the impress of his name upon it. Some on the contrary ascribe the authorship of this work to Ibn Khurdādhbah. I have also seen two small volumes in the city of Naisābūr, the one inscribed with the name of al-Jaihānī as its author, and the other with that of Ibn Khurdādhbah. They expressed much the same ideas, except that al-Jaihānī's work contained somewhat of additional matter.

2 Abū Zaid, Aḥmad ibn Sahl al-Balkhī; he was of Shāmistiyān, a village in the neighbourhood of Balkh, and died 340 H. His work is entitled '*Ṣuwaru-l Aqālīm*,' on which al-Iṣṭakhrī chiefly based his treatise.

3 The capital of the Sāmānides was Bukhārā, in Transoxiana.

4 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī, commonly called Ibnu-l Faqīh. The author of the *Fihrist* says that he compiled his book from various works, and chiefly from that of al-Jaihānī; but from internal evidence it is conclusively shown that the work could not have been written later than 290 H, that is, some years before al-Jaihānī wrote his. See de Goeje's Preface to *Kitābu-l Buldān*, where the date of Ibnu-l Faqīh's death, as given by Yāqūt, *i.e.*, about 340 H., is impugned.

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moving to tears and now so diverting as to excite laughter. The works of al-Jāḥiḍh [1] and Ibn Khurdādhbah [2] remain to be noticed. They are, however, too short to be of much use.[3] 5.

These are the only works on this subject that I have met with after much inquiry and search and a thorough examination of public and private libraries. I have endeavoured not to repeat 6. anything which those writers have recorded, nor to narrate any particulars they have related,[4] except in case of necessity, in order

[1] Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiḍh (ob: 255 H). He was a man of great learning, but had very imperfect ideas in geography (Reinaud's Introduct., p. 52). See also in Ḥājī Khal. Vol. V., p. 52, what al-Mas'ūdī says of his work *Kitābu-l Amṣār*.

[2] Abu-l Qāsim 'Ubaidu-llah ibn Khurdādhbah (ob: 300 H.), author of *al-Masālik wa-l Mamālik*. See de Goeje's Preface to his edition of this work, part VI. of the Biblio. Geo. Arab. series.

[3] For these paragraphs C has: I have also seen a book with maps in the library of aṣ-Ṣāḥib, the authorship of which is generally ascribed to Abū Zaid al-Balkhī. I afterwards saw a copy of the same book in Naisābūr, transcribed from the manuscript of ar-Ra'īs Abū Muḥammad al-Mīkālī; but this was without the name of the author, and some have supposed it to be the work of Ibnu-l Marzubān al-Karkhī. I have also seen a copy of it in Bukhārā, inscribed with the name of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī as its author. The latter statement is the most correct, for I have met with a number of persons who had come in contact with him and had actually seen him in the act of composing it; among them al-Ḥākim Abū Ḥāmid al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥākim Abū Naṣr al-Ḥarbī. The maps are well executed, but he has fallen into utter confusion in many parts of his work; while his description is not exhaustive, nor is there any division of the provinces into districts. I have also seen a book written by Ibnu-l Faqīh al-Hamadhānī in five volumes, in which he follows a different course. He mentions only the larger towns.... The *Kitābu-l Amṣār* of al-Jāḥiḍh is a small book This work and that of Ibnu-l Faqīh are on the same lines; but the latter contains more irrelevant matter and stories. Their apology for doing this is that 'the reader may find something to divert him in case he is tired.' I have had occasion sometimes to look in the work of Ibnu-l Faqīh, and turn wherever I would I have always found trivial stories and rhetorical flourishes of composition in the account of one town or another. I personally did not look upon this with favour; still, I have put in some stories and dissertations pertinent to the subject in hand, and not such as to cause one to lose sight of the principal matter. I have also put some parts into rhyme for the entertainment of the common people; because, while the educated classes prefer simple prose above rhyme, the masses are better pleased with rhymes and rhyming.

[4] C adds: For the range of particulars in this science is too comprehensive we consider to put us in need of repetition, copying from a book, or pilfering

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neither to defraud them of their rights, nor myself to be guilty of plagiary; for in any case those alone will be able to appreciate my book who examine the works of those authors or who have themselves travelled through the country, and are men of education and intelligence. Still I do not acquit myself of error, nor my book of defect; neither do I take it to be free from superfluity and deficiency, nor consider it above criticism in all particulars. Lastly my account of the various particulars specified in the preface must needs vary from the standard of completeness, according as I am describing one or other of the divisions of the empire; for indeed it is only what I really know that shall be stated here; and as this science cannot be brought under definite rules, but is acquired solely by observation and investigation, it follows that absolute equality cannot be preserved.

For the sake of brevity certain words in this work have been used in a wider sense than they ordinarily convey. For instance, the phrase 'without equal' is understood to imply that a thing
7. has absolutely nothing like it; such as the ellipsoidal quinces of Baitu-l Maqdis [Jerusalem], the *Naidah*[1] of Egypt and the lemon of al-Baṣrah; for no equal to these is to be met with, though there are various kinds of them. The word 'superior' implies superiority in excellence amongst the different kinds;

from another's writings; unless indeed we are pressed to this by the nature of things or compelled by necessity, as we have done in the province of as. Sind, and the account of as-Sadd (the Rampart). In the making of maps we have done our best to bring out correct representations of the different parts of the empire, after carefully studying a number of drawings. Of these one I found in the library of the ruler of al-Mashriq, drawn on a piece of paper in the form of a square; but this I could not depend upon; and another, on a piece of fine linen in the possession of Abu-l Qāsim ibnu-l Anmāṭī, at Naisābūr, which was also a square; and also the drawings of Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī, which come nearer to fact and are worthy of reliance, although confused and imperfect in many places. I saw an old man in Sarakhs who had delineated the countries of Infidelity and Islām in several maps, in which nearly everything was wrong. I asked him whether he had ever travelled. He answered, 'I have not gone beyond Sarakhs'! I rejoined, 'I have heard of persons describing a country from report, and confusion is the result, but I have never seen anyone who has mapped any portion of land from hearsay, excepting thee.'

[1] A kind of sweet cake or paste made of wheat; it will be found described in the chapter on Egypt.

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such as the 'Amrī plums of Shīrāz, the Damascene figs of ar-Ramlah and the 'Aṣlūnī apricots and the Rībās (Ribes) of Naisābūr. The word 'good,' on the other hand, implies the existence of a better kind, such as the raisins of .....,[1] the Ṭā'ifī raisins being superior; the indigo of Arīḥā [Jericho], that of Zabīd being of better quality; and the peaches of Makkah, the Dāriqī variety being more excellent. In some instances we have so contracted our expressions as to require explanatory notes to make them clear; for example, in speaking of al-Ahwāz we have said that its mosque has no dignity; for this reason that the mosque is filled at all times with a multitude of rogues and vagabonds and lewd fellows, who consort and assemble therein; it is never clear of idlers who sit by while the congregation say their prayers; it is moreover the dwelling place of sturdy beggars and the home of the profligate. We have also said that the inhabitants of Baitu-l Maqdis are second to none in point of honour and integrity; as no instances of a man defrauding another, dealing out short measures or having the effrontery to drink in broad daylight, have ever been known to occur; indeed, not a single drunken man is to be met with, nor are there any houses of ill-fame, either in secret or openly. Add to this their high sense of religion and their sincerity of belief, which reaches such a height that when they once came to know that their governor was drinking, they actually scaled the walls of his house and dispersed the company. Again, in the description of Shīrāz it has been said that the *ṭailasān*[2] confers no distinction there; this is because it is the prevailing style and worn by both high and low, by the learned as well as by the ignorant. As a matter of fact, I have often witnessed drunken men who, in a state of disorder, have deranged their *ṭailasāns* and were dragging them behind them; while, to speak from personal experience, I could never gain access to the Wazīr when presenting myself at court[3]

[1] A lacuna occurs here in the original; the only other varieties of raisins mentioned in the work are the *Dūrī* and the *'Ainūnī*.

[2] A kind of black scarf, of a circular form, thrown over the head and shoulders, or sometimes over the shoulders only. It was for a long time peculiar to *Faqīhs*, or professors of religion and law; and then came to be worn as well by men of distinction in other walks of life.

[3] Shīrāz was, at this time, the capital of the Buwaih dynasty.

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wearing the *ṭailasān;* unless, indeed, I were recognized; but I was always admitted when appearing in a *durrā'ah.*[1]

Names of towns have sometimes been indiscriminately used in both the masculine and feminine genders. As there are various synonymous words to express a 'town' or 'city,' of which some are masculine, as *miṣr*, some feminine, as *qaṣabah* and *madīnah*, the one or the other, as the case may require, should be taken as the word understood. This has the sanction of the best authors in the case of inanimate objects. The word *balad* is in common use for a metropolis, a chief city, the country, a district or a region. The capital cities are always described under their proper names in the account of the districts to which they belong; as for instance, al-Fusṭāṭ Numūjkath and al-Yahūdiyyah; but when otherwise mentioned, they usually bear the names by which they are ordinarily known to people; thus Miṣr,[2] Bukhārā and Iṣbahān. We have taken al-Mashriq (the Orient; eastern countries) as designating in particular the territories of the House of Sāmān;[3] while ash-Sharq (the East), includes also the provinces of Fāris, Kirmān and as-Sind. Al-Maghrib (the Occident; western countries) denotes the particular province of that name; whilst al-Gharb (the West), includes also Egypt and ash-Shām [Syria].

Some parts of the work are advisedly written in an obscure
8. and figurative style, so that a tinge of sublimity and rare excellence may be infused in it. As a safeguard we have adduced proofs in defence of any position we may have taken; our stories we have drawn from authentic sources by way of verification; and we have embellished our diction by the occasional use of rhymed and well-balanced sentences, and have repeated incidents connected with sacred history as a means of obtaining Divine favour. Nevertheless, we have written the greater portion of it in an easy style in order to make it intelligible to people of common understanding who may study it; and have arranged its matters

1 The *durrā'ah*, which is described as a garment open in front to near the heart, with buttons and loops, was distinctive of the *Kuttāb* or 'men of the pen.' See Dozy's Dict. des Vêtements.

2 The word *Miṣr* is wanting in the text, it should be supplied before بخارا.

3 The Sāmānides ruled in Khurāsān and Mā-warā'a-n Nahr (Transoxiana.)

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on the system of theological works, so that it may be regarded with esteem by the learned who ponder it in their hearts. We have also noted all differences of opinions with profound forethought and all nice distinctions with circumspection; and with various objects in view, we have undertaken the description of cities at some length; as also for reasons of obvious utility, we have given statistical accounts of the different countries. We have clearly described the routes of travel, as they are most important to be known; have represented the divisions of the empire in maps[1] as a help to the elucidation of the text; and have given a list of the towns and villages in each district, as that seemed most advisable. But above all we have, before entering upon the composition of this book, prayed to God for blessing and success and invoked His assistance; and have consulted eminent contemporaries and leaders of men. We have even taken a specimen of the work to the supreme Qāḍhī,[2] the learned man of Khurāsān and the ablest judge of his time. They one and all approved and eulogized it and earnestly advised me to bring it to completion.

As already stated we declare that which we have seen and relate that which we have heard. That, therefore, the truth of which has been established beyond doubt, either by personal observation or by corroborated report, has been accepted without hesitation; but whatever seemed doubtful or rests upon the authority of individuals, has been ascribed to the person from whom we have heard it. Yet it is only an illustrious personage, a distinguished scholar, or a powerful monarch that finds place in our book, except under pressing necessity or in the course of a narrative; even then we shall vaguely call the person to be mentioned a 'certain man' and name his native place, lest he should be included in the category of celebrities.[3] Notwithstanding all these precautionary expedients to assure accuracy, I did not venture to publish

[1] These are not reproduced in de Goeje's edition of the text of al-Muqaddasī.

[2] Abu-l Ḥasan 'Alī ibnu-l Ḥasan, to whom the author dedicated his work. He served, it appears, in the capacity of a *wazīr* or counsellor to 'Amīdu-d Daulah Fā'iq, who held an important position under several princes of the Sāmānī dynasty in Khurāsān.

[3] The text here is somewhat obscure; but this appears to be the drift of the author's meaning.

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it till I had reached my fortieth year, had visited all parts of the
9. empire and had been the attendant of men of science and religion. It was finished in the metropolis of Fāris,[1] in the reign of the Prince of the Faithful, Abū Bakr 'Abdu-l Karīm aṭ-Ṭā'i' li-llāh,[2] and that of Abū Manṣūr Nizār, al-'Azīz bi-llāh,[3] Prince of the Faithful in the western countries; in the year 375 H. (inc. 24 May 985).[4]

The empire of Islām alone is described in these pages. We did not trouble ourselves with the countries of the infidels, as we have never entered them, and have not thought it worthwhile to describe them. We have, however, noticed those parts of them where colonies of the Muslims have settled. We have divided it into fourteen divisions or provinces and have separately treated of the Arabian, as distinct from the non-Arabian divisions. Then have we described the districts in each division, assigning to them their capitals and principal cities and giving their towns and villages in due order, having first represented each division in a map exhibiting its limits and boundary lines. In these maps the familiar routes have been coloured red; the golden sands, yellow; the salt seas, green; the well-known rivers, blue; and the principal mountains, drab; that the description may be readily understood by everybody and be within the comprehension of all.

The Arabian provinces or divisions are: Jazīratu-l 'Arab [the Peninsula of the Arabs; Arabia], al-'Irāq, Aqūr [Mesopotamia], ash-Shām [Syria], Miṣr [Egypt] and al-Maghrib. The non-Arabian divisions are in order:—al-Mashriq, ad-Dailam, ar-
10. Riḥāb,[5] al-Jibāl, Khūzistān, Fāris, Kirmān and as-Sind. A

[1] *I. e.* Shīrāz.

[2] XXIVth Khalīfah of the dynasty of the 'Abbāsides, at Baghdād. (363–381).

[3] Vth of the 'Ubaidī Khalīfahs, who are also known as the Fāṭimites, and IInd of the dynasty in Egypt. (365–386). It may here be observed that this is not the only place where the names of al-'Azīz and aṭ-Ṭā'i' have been linked together, for they were placed in contact on a more solemn occasion and that much to the disparagement of al-'Azīz. See *Tārīkhu-l Khulafā'* (J.), p. 3.

[4] C for this: 'and in the days of his lordship al-Amīr Abu-l Qāsim Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr, the vassal of the Prince of the Faithful.' Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr was the seventh prince of the House of Sāmān; and ruled from 366 till 387 H.

[5] Ar-Riḥāb, or 'the Wides,' is the name, coined by al-Muqaddasī himself, to designate the province comprising the three districts of ar-Rāu [Arrān], Armīniyyah and Ādharbaijān in contradistinction to al-Jibāl or 'the Mountains.'

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desert lies between the Arabian divisions and another in the midst of the non-Arabian. They are so important and so much intersected with paths of travel, that we have thought it absolutely necessary to treat of them separately, and describe them minutely.

Of the seas and rivers we have sufficiently treated in a separate chapter, on account of the importance and comparative obscurity of this subject.

The Seas and Rivers.

In the whole extent of Islām, we have certainly seen not more than two seas. One of these issues from the direction of the South-east [1] and extends between China [2] and the country of the Ethiopians. On entering the territory of Islām, it passes round the Peninsula of the Arabs as shown in the map of that country. It has many gulfs and several arms; but the accounts given of it differ very much and those who have made charts of it have represented it in a variety of forms. Some of them have taken it to be in the form of a semicircular *ṭailasān*, at one end of which is China, and at the other end the country of the Abyssinians, with arms stretching to al-Qulzum and 'Abbādān. Abū Zaid,

[1] The word used in the text to designate the south-east is مشارق الشتاء, the points in the heavens where the sun rises in winter. "The Arabs have different ways of marking the four Cardinal points. Two of these are indicated by nature herself; they are the *mashriq* or East, the direction of the heavens where the sun rises, and the *maghrib* or West, where it sets. But the sun does not follow a direct line with reference to the equator: sometimes it is to the south of the equinoctial line and sometimes to the north. The limits of the course of the sun are, on the north, the tropic of Cancer, and on the south, the tropic of Capricorn, a space of about forty-seven degrees. At the winter solstice, the sun is under the tropic of Capricorn, and at the summer solstice, under the tropic of Cancer. The Arabs to designate the south-east, say sometimes '*mashriqu-sh-Shitā*' or the 'Orient of winter,' and to indicate the north-east *mashriqu-ṣ-Ṣaif*' or the 'Orient of summer,' so also to mark the north-west they make use of the words '*maghribu-ṣ-Ṣaif*' or the 'Occident of summer,' and to express the south-west, '*maghribu-sh-Shitā*' or the 'Occident of winter.'" The north and south are determined by the east and west. Reinaud's Introduction, p. 192.

[2] China was supposed to touch the equator on the south-east, where the Indian Ocean is made to begin. See Reinaud's Géo. d'Aboulf., Vol. I, p. 26 and n 1.

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on the other hand, has given it the form of a bird with its beak at al-Qulzum—he takes no notice of the gulf of Wailah—its neck in al-'Irāq and its tail between Abyssinia and China. I have also seen a representation of it, on a sheet of paper, in the library of the Prince of Khurāsān; and another on fine linen in the possession of Abu-l Qāsim ibnu-l Anmāṭī in Naisābūr, as also in the libraries of 'Aḍhudu-d Daulah and aṣ-Ṣāḥib.[1] Each was unlike the others; and some of them represented gulfs and arms of which I have no knowledge. I, myself, have travelled a course of about two thousand leagues over it and have made the circuit of the whole Peninsula from al-Qulzum to 'Abbādān; not taking into account casual visits on shipboard to the islands and depths of this sea. I was thus thrown into the company of men,—shipmasters, pilots, ... ,[2] agents and merchants,—who, bred and born upon it, possessed the clearest and fullest knowledge of this sea, its anchorages, its winds and its islands. I plied them with questions concerning its position, physical peculiarities and its limits. I have also seen in their possession charts and sailing directories which they constantly study and follow with implicit confidence.

11. From these sources therefore I have drawn, with careful discrimination and close attention, a sufficient account embodying the best information I could acquire, which I afterwards compared with the charts already spoken of. And as I was sitting one day with Abū 'Alī ibn Ḥāzim by the coast of ʿAdan, with my gaze fixed on the sea, he thus spoke to me, 'How is it that I see you so thoughtful?' I answered, 'May God prosper the Shaikh, my mind is in a state of bewilderment with respect to this sea, so conflicting are the accounts given of it. The Shaikh has now a most perfect knowledge of it, seeing that he is the chief of merchants, and that his ships are ever passing to the furthest parts of it. What if he condescends to give me a description of it, worthy of reliance and capable of relieving my doubts?' 'No one is better qualified to give you this informa-

[1] Aṣ-Ṣāḥib, Abu-l Qāsim Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād, the famous minister first of Mu'ayyidu-d Daulah, and then of Fakhru-d Daulah Buwaih and the most accomplished man of his time. (326–385). For his life see De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, I. 212.

[2] A lacuna in the edited text; the word which reads like رياضيين 'mathematicians' being uncertain.

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tion,'[1] he said; and smoothing the sand with the palm of his hand, he drew on it a figure of the sea. It was neither a *ṭailasān* nor a bird; and had the coast line broken by deeply indented sinuosities and several arms. 'This,' he added, 'is the figure of this sea;[2] it has no other form.' I shall however represent it in a simple form and take no account of its arms and inlets, with the exception of the gulf of Wailah [the Elanitic Gulf], in view of its importance, the great necessity there is of knowing it and the frequency of voyages over it. All points of disagreement shall be left out and those only taken in that are universally admitted. At all events it is undoubted that this sea encircles the Peninsula of the Arabs in three quarters of its bounds and that it has two arms, as already mentioned, stretching by the side of Egypt. The point at which, parting their waters, they run into the land, is called Fārān,[3] and lies in the direction of Al-Ḥijāz. The sea is widest and roughest between 'Adan and 'Umān, its width in this part reaching as much as six hundred leagues. Thence it narrows into a gulf penetrating to 'Abbādān. The places of danger in so far as it is in the territory of Islām, are:—Jubailān, the place of Pharaoh's drowning; it is the abysmal part of the sea of al-Qulzum, and ships have to proceed in it transversely in order to pass from the desert side to the side of life and cultivation. Next is Fārān, a place where the winds blowing from the direction of Egypt and Syria encounter each other and make of it a centre of destruction to ships.[4] Navigators usually send off a party of men to watch

[1] Literally 'On the possessor of knowledge thou hast lighted,' a proverb current among the Arabs.

[2] C: It is certain from all accounts that it has two arms running, the one to Wailah and the other to al-Qulzum, and a gulf stretching on the other side to 'Abbādān.

[3] More correctly Tārān. Yāqūt (Vol. I, 811) describes Tārān as an island inhabited by a number of poor wretches who live in old boats and subsist chiefly on fish. For fresh water they have to wait the chance of any passing ship which may only happen once in many years. It is their love of country or the necessity of feeding themselves that keeps them there say they.

[4] This is said to be the most dangerous part of the sea; it is an eddy of water at the foot of a mountain, where are two ravines with their openings facing each other. When the wind falls upon the top of the mountain, it rushes through the ravines and issues with great force from the opposite openings, lashing the sea into fury. The island and gulf of Tārān are marked in K-J. under the name of Tiran.

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the wind. If the winds subside, or the one from their side blows with the greater force, they proceed on their journey; otherwise,
12. they would have to stay a considerable time, till the hour of relief comes about. Next is the port of al-Ḥaurā', full of rocks at its entrance where ships are taken unawares. Indeed, from al-Qulzum to as far down as al-Jār, the ground is overspread with huge rocks that render the navigation in this part of the sea most difficult. On this account, the passage is only made by day; in which case the ship-master takes his stand on the top and steadily looks into the sea. Two boys are likewise posted on his right and on his left. On espying a rock he at once calls to either of the boys to give notice of this to the helmsman by a loud cry. The latter, on hearing the cry, pulls one or the other of two ropes he holds in his hand to the right or to the left, according to the directions. If these precautions are not taken, the ship stands in danger of being wrecked against the rocks. Off the island of aṣ-Ṣilāb, there is likewise a perilous strait; and commanders, in apprehension of danger to their ships, steer clear of it to the left, where they find themselves on the broad sea. Next is Jā'iz,[1] an evil place where the water of the sea is of so little depth that the ground is visible to the eye. In this shallow, ship-wrecks are of frequent occurrence. The entrance of Kamarān too, occasions much fear and distress. Another strait, that of al-Mandam,[2] is equally

[1] The editor of the text says that he has not come across this word elsewhere. It is possible that the word should be read Jābir and that the *munfahaq* Jābir is meant. Yāqūt (Vol. IV, 1036) describes the place as a difficult promontory with frequent and violent winds.

[2] Under the name of al-Mandam (place of Repentance), the author refers to Bābu-l Mandab or the Gate of Tears, which name was given to this strait on account of its dangers (Smith's Geo. Dict., Vol I, 183*a*). The promontory which encloses it on the East (Palindromus Promontorium) bears the same name; and Reinaud thinks that it may have come to be so called because of the Indian Ocean washing the skirts of this promontory, for the navigation of this ocean, especially in the days when the Monsoons were not known, was dangerous in the extreme (Géo. d'Aboulf., Vol. I, 211 *n* 4). Yāqūt strangely enough derives the name from another meaning of the root *nadaba*, *viz.*, 'to summon or send a person to do a thing;' and gives an impossible and ridiculous story of a king who with the intent of ruining his enemy's country, which was part of al-Yaman, *summoned* his men and ordered them to cut through this promontory which stood as a bulwark against the sea. The sea then rushed into al-Yaman and destroyed many cities and villages with all the

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difficult in its navigation and impassable except in a strong, freshening wind. Thence the sea merges into a vast deep till it reaches 'Umān; and here one sees what the Most High has mentioned, 'Waves like unto firmly rooted mountains.'[1] It is however entirely safe in the outgoing, but dangerous in the incoming; and wrecks by the force of wind and waves are not unfrequent. All ships sailing over this part of the sea are constrained to carry for protection a body of fighting men and throwers of naphtha.[2] The port of 'Umān itself has a bad, destructive harbour. Farther lies Famu-s-Sab',[3] a frightful strait; and farther still, al-Khashabāt (*the stockades*) on the skirts of al-Baṣrah. This is by far the greatest evil, a strait and a shallow combined. Here small huts have been erected on palm trunks set in the sea, and people stationed therein to keep a fire lighted at night, as a warning to ships to steer clear of this shallow place. Our passage of it was accomplished with great difficulty, ten times did the ship strike on the ground; in connection with this I heard an old man say that of forty ships going by this way one only returns. It is not my intention to dwell on this subject, as in that case I must needs mention all the anchorages of this sea and the routes over it.

The waters of this sea, distinguished by the name of the Sea of China, periodically rise toward the middle and end of each month and twice in every day and night. The tidal flowing and 13
ebbing of the water at al-Baṣrah is due to the river's connection therewith; for, when the tide rises, it forces back the waters of the Tigris which then flow into the many channels that irrigate

inhabitants; and thus the Red Sea was formed. The author of *Tāju-l-'Arūs* improves matters by adding that this king was Alexander, the Grecian.

[1] Qur'ān, XI. 44.

[2] For defence against Indian pirates who from the earliest times infested these seas. Strange as it may appear now, when the aversion of Indians to sea is considered, the inhabitants of India have not always been shy of the sea. Indian flotillas have on several occasions, in the time of the Caliphs, made descents up to the very banks of the Tigris; while it appears from the statements of the Chinese traveller, Hwen-Thsang, that in the first half of the VIIth century, most of the principal cities of Persia contained colonies of Indians who enjoyed a full exercise of their religion. See Reinaud's Introduction, p. 384.

[3] The lion's mouth. The mouth of a river between Sulaimānān and Ḥiṣn Mahdī, called Famu-l-Asad (the lion's mouth) in al-Istakhrī's map. Editor's note.

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the adjoining lands; and when it falls, the waters recede in consequence. Different opinions are held as to the cause of the tides. Some have supposed that the flow is caused by an angel daily dipping his finger in the ocean and the reflux by the removal of his finger. Ka'bu-l-Aḥbār[1] tells a story of al-Khaḍhir[2] meeting with an angel and questioning him on the subject of the ebb and flow. The angel's explanation was that the waters of the ocean flow into the nostrils of the whale[3] as it breathes in,—this is the ebb-tide; in breathing out the whale ejects the water from its nostrils, and the flood-tide is the result. Yet another reason has been put forward to account for the tides which I shall mention in the chapter on the 'Irāq division.[4] There are deep and narrow places in this sea also; its smallest breadth,[5]

[1] A famous traditionist and a very repository of old wives' fables and legends. Contemporary with the prophet, it was not for him to come in contact with that master spirit of his age. He renounced Judaism in favour of Islām during the caliphate of 'Umar; and died in the year 32 of the Hijrah. He lies buried in Ḥimṣ. An-Nawawī, p. 523. What is strange indeed is that D' Herbelot, in his Bibliothèque Orientale, takes the name of Ka'bu-l Aḥbār, which he writes however 'Cab Al Akhbar,' as that of an historical work intermixed with fabulous stories concerning Muḥammadanism and of which the author is not known. If there is such a book, it must be a collection of legendary traditions on the authority of Ka'bu-l-Aḥbār; and in that case the author's name must have been mistaken for that of the book, especially as there is no mention of Ka'b in the Bibliothèque.

[2] Al-Khaḍhir or al-Khiḍhr. The life of this person is shrouded in darkness. Accepted alike by Muslims and Eastern Christians as a living reality, they can give no definite account as to who he was, or where and when he lived. Were he not needed by interpreters of the Qur'ān to be the companion of Moses in that series of thrilling adventures narrated in *Sūratu-l Kahf* (Ch. XVIII), there would have been no difficulty in accepting the Christian account of him, that he is the prophet Elijah himself. At any rate he is believed by all to be exempt from death, by virtue, according to the Muḥammadan legend, of his having drunk of the water of life. He is said to appear to persons in distress clad in *green* garments; whence, according to some, his name. *See* an-Nawawī, p. 228 and D' H. II, 435.

[3] Cf. Yāqūt, I, 23, where it is the bull and not the whale that breathes and thus occasions the tides.

[4] C: The astronomers give yet another reason for this, to be found in the work of Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, the astronomer.

[5] It appears beyond doubt that the author is speaking here of the Persian Gulf; it were more correct, therefore, to read with C إخرجه 'Its extreme limit,' for إحرجة. Ch. XVI of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūju-dh-Dhahab*, will help to make the somewhat obscure text here intelligible.

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is between Ra'su-l-Jumjumah[1] and ad-Daibul. Beyond this lies a fathomless deep[2] in which innumerable islands[3] are situate. Some of these Islands are under the government of an Arab king;[4] others to the number it is said of one thousand and seven hundred are ruled by a woman.[5] If the accounts of those who have visited her country are to be believed, this woman appears before her subjects seated naked on a couch wearing a crown and attended by four thousand females standing in a state

[1] Ra'su-l-Jumjumah, called now Ra'su-l-Jabal; a dark, high promontory, projecting far into the sea, at the extreme limit of 'Umān, and shutting in the Persian Gulf from the open sea. The real name of this promontory is Ra'su-l-Jumḥah (Yāqūt, II, 114 and ad-Dimashqī, p. 151); but this is ordinarily altered into Ra'su-l-Jumjumah. See also al-Mas'ūdī, I. 331.

[2] The second of the seven seas into which the Indian Ocean has been divided by old geographers. It is called Lārawī after the country of Lār, which M. Quatremère takes to be the modern Lāristān, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. This is hardly possible, however, as the name seems undoubtedly to refer to Gujarāt and the coast of Cambay. This is the country, says Reinaud, which Greek and Roman writers called by the name of Larica. In Sanskrit works, he adds, the name of Gujarāt and the coast of Cambay is Lata (लाट), taking ṭ to be the equivalent of the letter r. On the other hand, al-Mas'ūdī, who had himself visited the country, says with respect to the different dialects of India that the language of the maritime coast is known as Larya, whence is derived the name of Lārawī given to the sea which washes it. 'Probablement,' Reinaud continues, 'le nom indigène du pays était Lar aussi bien que Larya, d'où les Arabes firent *Larevy*, comme de Counya ou Iconium, en Asie Mineure, ils ont fait *Counevy*, et de Ormya, dans la grande Arménie, *Ormevy*.' See Introduct. Abulf. p. 410.

[3] These are no doubt the Laccadive and Maldive islands, placed by al-Mas'ūdī, not in the second sea, but between this and the sea of Harkand, as a partition between the two. The Laccadives form twenty atolls or groups, and the Maldives seventeen.

[4] The inhabitants of the Maldive islands referred to in the text, are Muḥammadans governed by a Sultan whose title and rank are hereditary. He resides in the island of Male or Mohl, and pays an annual tribute to the British Government in Ceylon. Baness, Index Geo. Ind.

[5] Al-Mas'ūdī adds that it is an ancient custom with them not to be governed by a man. In modern times, the greater portion of the Laccadives were under the uncontrolled management of a Princess of Cannanore, subject to the payment of an annual tribute to the British Government of £1,000. This tribute having fallen into arrear, the whole of the five group of islands in her possession were attached, and are now under British administration. Baness, Index Geo. Ind.

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of nudity. This is followed by the Sea of Harkand,[1] an immense expanse of water in which is Sarandīb.[2] This island extends to about eighty *farsakhs* in both its length and its breadth;[3] and has within it the mountain on which Adam was thrown after his fall. It is called ar-Ruhn[4] and is visible from a distance of several days' journey. There is the impress of a foot on its summit, sunk to a depth of about seventy cubits, while the other footstep is set at a distance of a day and night in the bottom of the sea; and a (heavenly) light is seen upon it regularly at night.[5] The ruby is found on this mountain; the finest being that carried down by the wind; there is also an odoriferous plant, resembling musk. There are three kings in the island.[6] There is also the

[1] Reinaud would identify the name of the sea of Harkand, which answers to the Bay of Bengal, with that of the ancient port of Tamralipti. The names are certainly not unlike each other when written in Arabic characters. Introduct. Abulf. p. 411. This part of the sea has also been called *al-Khalīju-l Akhḍhar* or 'the Green Bay.'

[2] Sarandīb, a euphonic modification of Sinhaladwīpa सिंहलद्वीप the Sanscrit name of the island of Ceylon. For an explanation of the names which this interesting and beautiful island has borne at different times, see Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geo.* under Taprobane, and Cunningham's *Ancient Geo. of India*, p. 557.

[3] Its greatest length, from north to south, is about 270 miles, and its greatest width, from east to west, about 156 miles. Its area is about 24,454 square miles. Baness, Index Geo. Ind.

[4] More generally known as ar-Rahūn, from the Sanscrit Rohaṇa रोहण. This is the celebrated Adam's Peak, 'an isolated mountain on the south-west of the central mountain zone, formerly supposed to be the highest in Ceylon.' (Baness). It is a centre of common pilgrimage. 'The Siva-worshippers ascend the top of it to adore the foot print of their phallic god, the *Siva-pada*; the Buddhists repair to the spot to revere the same symbol as the foot mark of Buddha; and the Muḥammadans venerate it as a relic of Adam, the Semitic father of mankind.' (Hunter's Imp. Gazetteer, VI. 203). The author of the Qāmūs gives Būdh as another name of this mountain, which received that of Adam's Peak from the legend which connects it with the fall of our first parent, according to the Muḥammadan belief. See *Géo. d'Aboulf.*, I. 88, D'H. *sub voce* Adam and Lee's translation of the Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 189 *et seq.*

[5] In the language of Yāqūt, III. 83, "something like lightning, without any clouds." This phenomenon is no doubt due to volcanic action.

[6] Yāqūt adds, 'Every one of them resists the authority of the others; and when the greatest of them dies, his body is cut into four pieces and each placed in a box of sandal-wood and aloes; and thus burned in fire. His

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camphor tree[1] which is of a height unattained by any other tree. It has a white trunk and is so large as to shelter more than two hundred men under its shade. Incisions are made in the lower part of the tree and the camphor flows out upon it like gum, after which the tree withers. In the immediate proximity of Sarandīb lies the island of Alkalb,[2] which has mines of gold. The staple food of its inhabitants is the cocoa-nut. They are fair, nude and comely in form. The adjoining island is known as the island of ar-Ramī.[3] Here the tree known as Baqqam[4] flourishes; it is planted by hand and bears a fruit resembling carob-pods, with a bitter taste; and the roots counteract the ill effects of the most powerful poisons. The island of Usqūṭrah [Socotra] rises like a tower in the dark sea; it is a refuge for the pirates[5] who are the terror of sailing ships in these parts; and not till the island is cleared do they cease to be a cause of fear. Of the two seas, this is the most beneficial and salutary. 14

The other sea issues from the furthest west between as-Sūsu-l Aqṣā and al-Andalus. It is broad where it emerges from the

wife, too, throws herself on the fire and is burned with him. In Ibnu-l Faqīh, *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 10, it is the king's men who thus sacrifice themselves.

[1] *Dryobalanops Camphora* or *D. aromatica* N. O. Dipterocarpaceæ. The Camphor tree is indigenous to the island of Sumatra, and does not exist in Ceylon. (Reinaud's Introduct. Abulf. p. 409). The word 'there,' therefore, must be understood to refer to one of the ocean islands, other than Sarandīb.

[2] This is the Alankabālūs or Lanjabālūs of other geographers, the modern Nikobar.

[3] The name of this island is variously written as ar-Ramī, ar-Rāminī and ar-Rāmī. It is the modern Sumatra.

[4] *Cæsalpinia Sappan* N. O. Leguminoscæ. The Bakkam or Wakkam wood of Sind. On the Coromandel coast a red dye called "Chay" contains this wood as an ingredient. It is known in commerce as "red-wood" from the red dye which it furnishes. *See* Drury, *Useful Plants of India*, p. 93.

[5] The *Bawārij* were the pirates of Kachh and Somanāth, thus called because they committed their robberies on sea in ships called *bîra*. Al-Bīrūnī's India, (Sachau) Vol. I, p. 208. The latter word is still used in this sense, in Hindustani, under the form بیڑا (Gloss. Belādh, sub برج). De Goeje has taken the word ﺳﺪ here to mean 'refugium,' because Yāqūt (III, 102) describes the island as having formerly been a place of refuge to these pirates of India. But it were more accurate to give it its proper sense of 'barrier,' as the meaning seems to be that the pirates did not go beyond this island in their expeditions.

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ocean;[1] then it narrows gradually toward a point; then again it expands into a large sea, as far as the confines of Syria. In interpreting the verse, "Lord of the two easts and Lord of the two wests,"[2] a learned man of al-Maghrib said in my hearing that the two wests are the two sides of this sea; because the sun sets in summer on the right side, and in winter on the left side of it; and I have learned from some of the people of that country that the sea is so narrow in the vicinity of Ṭanjah as to be.....;[3] and they all agree in saying that at the passes of al-Andalus both shores are visible to the observer at once. According to the statement of Ibnu-l-Faqīh, the length of this western[4] Sea of ar-Rūm, from Anṭākiyah to the Fortunate Isles[5] is 2,500 leagues

1 The western extremity of the Mediterranean Sea is placed by Yāqūt somewhere further than the town of Salā (K.-J. Salee or Sla), which is in lat. 34° N., long. 6° 45′ W. The breadth of the sea at its beginning extends therefore between Salā and the point opposite in al-Andalus in lat. 27° N., a distance of 3 degrees.

This portion of the Atlantic Ocean outside the Straits, between the SW. coast of Spain, and the NW. coast of Africa, was known to the ancients by a special name, 'Oceanus Gaditanus.' Avienus calls it *Atlanticus sinus* and regards it as a sort of outer gulf of the Mediterranean. Smith's Dict., *sub* Atlanticum Mare.

2 Qur'ān, LV. 16 and 17. *See* Sale's Koran, p. 432 note x.

3 A lacuna in B. C. has here 'and I have heard the inhabitants of Ṭanjah say that it is in some places of the width of a few *farsakhs* only.' Yāqūt gives the breadth of the *Zuqāq*, as the Straits of Gibraltar is called, as from 12 to 18 miles; it is however 8 miles wide.

4 In the text the word دبوري is taken as the attribute of طول, and although 'western length' may be so stretched in meaning as to signify 'length in the direction of the west,' *i.e.* from east to west, the reading is not authorized by the text of Ibnu-l-Faqīh, although this appears to be the meaning intended in C which has من نحو الدبور instead of دبوري. It is the sea itself that is described as 'Western,' just as the Indian Ocean is spoken of as 'the Southern Sea.' *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 7.

5 The situation of these islands cannot be determined with precision; at least, not from anything the Arabs have said with respect to them. The Greek and Roman geographers, on the other hand, applied the name in the first instance to the Canary Islands and the Madeira group. Then the Azores and even perhaps the C. de Verde islands were included in the name. In fact, as the writer of the article on these islands in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography says, its extension was adapted to that of maritime discovery. See also two exhaustive notes on these and the Khālidāt or Eternal Islands in Reinaud's *Géo. d' Aboulf.*, I, 263 and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III, 33.

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and its breadth is in one place 500 and in another 200 leagues.[1] The southern[2] shores, from Ṭarasūs to Dimyāṭ and thence to as-Sūs, are entirely in the hands of the Muslims; but the other side, which is the left of the sea, is occupied by Christians. There are in it three flourishing and populous islands:—Iṣqilliyyah [Sicily], which faces al-Maghrib, Iqrīṭish [Crete], opposite Egypt; and Qubrus [Cyprus], over against Syria.[3] It has also some well-known gulfs; and numerous towns and magnificent fortresses and military stations stand on this side of it. A part of it borders the country of ar-Rūm, as far as the confines of al-Andalus; they are the dread masters of it, and possess, in common with the inhabitants of Iṣqilliyyah and al-Andalus, the most accurate knowledge of its description, limits and gulfs; since they are constantly journeying with the object of ravaging the countries on the opposite side; moreover their routes of travel to Egypt and Syria lie mainly across this sea. I passed a long time on ship-board in company of these men and used to question them closely with respect to it, and its peculiarities, and repeat to them what I had learned about it from hearsay. They very rarely differed in their descriptions of it. It is a difficult and tempestuous sea; and a loud, continuous

15

[1] The length of the Mediterranean, from Gibraltar to its furthest extremity in Syria, is about 2,000 miles, with a breadth varying from 80 to 500 miles. The ancients assigned to it a much greater length. See Smith's Dict. *sub* Internum Mare.

[2] *Lit.* those parts that are in the direction of the *Qiblah*. The Arabs often use the word *Qiblah* to designate the South. This is consequent on the rise of Islām; for, as generally known, the Muslims turn themselves in prayer towards the Ka'bah, and thus the sacred temple came to be called *al-Qiblah* or the place to which one turns. From the situation of Makkah to the south of Syria and parts of Mesopotamia and Egypt, the word *Qiblah* became to the inhabitants of these countries synonymous with 'South,' and was afterwards used in this sense in other countries as well. See Reinaud's Introduct. p. 194.

[3] C for this: The islands of this sea are fully one hundred and sixty-two in number. All of these were in a prosperous condition till invaded and laid waste by the Muslims, with the exception of three large ones: Cyprus, situated in front of Dimashq, with a circumference of 113 *farsakhs*; Crete, opposite Barqah with a full circuit of 100 *farsakhs*; and the island of Sicily, which will be fully described under the province of al-Maghrib.

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noise is at all times heard in it, particularly on Thursday nights.[1] In a tradition[2] which rests on the ultimate authority of 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr,[3] it is said that when God created the Sea of ash-Shām [the Mediterranean], He thus spake to it, "I have created thee and designed thee to bear some of my servants, who travel in quest of my bounties[4]—servants who extol me in songs of praise and adoration and who magnify and worship me. How wilt thou act with respect to them?" It said, "My Lord, if that be so, I shall drown them." The Lord thereupon said, "Begone, thou art accursed and thy treasures and fish will I make scanty." He spoke the selfsame words to the Sea

[1] ليالي الجمع '*Friday nights*,' in the original. The difference in the expression is due to the different methods of reckoning the *νυχθήμερον*. Europeans in general, like the ancient Egyptians, place the commencement of the civil day at midnight. Astronomers, after the example of Ptolemy, regard the day as commencing with the sun's culmination, or noon. Some nations, as the ancient Chaldeans and the modern Greeks, have chosen sunrise for the commencement of the day; others, again, as the Italians and Bohemians suppose it to commence at sunset.

The Nychthemeron of the Arabs begins likewise at sunset; and extends from the moment when the sun disappears below the horizon till his disappearance on the following day. "Therefore, their night preceded their day; and, therefore, it is their custom to let the nights *precede* the days, when they mention them in connection with the names of the seven days of the week." Al-Bīrūnī's Chronology, (Sachau), p. 5. The Friday night of the Arabs would therefore be the Thursday night of Europeans.

[2] The chains of authorities for all traditions, with the exception of the last and principal authority, have been uniformly omitted for the sake of brevity. A list of the names, however, will be found appended in a note in every instance. The sequence of authorities for this tradition given by the author are:—*al-Faqīh* Abu-ṭ-Ṭayyib 'Abdu-llah b. Muḥammad al-Jalāl; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Astarābādhī; al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad; Abū Salamah; Sa'id b. Zaid; Ibn Yasār and 'Abdu-llah b. 'Amr. 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, the last but one in this series, was one of the Tābi'īs or those next in time to the Companions. He was a freedman of Maimūnah, a wife of Muḥammad, and died in 94 H. See Abu-l-Maḥāsin's Annales, Vol. I, 255 and an-Nawawī's *Tahdhību-l-Asmā*, p. 424.

[3] 'Abdu-llah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. *Iṣābah*, II, 851. He was reputed to be one of the most excellent and learned men among the Companions, but the specimens of his traditions given in Abu-l-Maḥāsin's Annales, p. 31 *et seq.*, hardly establish his reputation in this respect. He died in 65 A. H., according to Abu-l-Maḥāsin; and this is probably the correct date of his death. *See* History of the Caliphs (Jarrett), p. 36, note †.

[4] *Cf.* Qur'ān, LXXIII. 20.

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of al-'Irāq [the Indian Ocean], which said, "My Lord, in that event I shall carry them on my back; and will praise Theewhen they praise Thee; and when they adore Thee, will I join in their adoration; and I will magnify Thee together with them. Whereupon the Lord said, "Depart; I have blessed thee and thy treasures and fish will I multiply." This tradition serves as a proof that there are only two seas. 16

I do not know whether these two seas fall into the ocean or proceed from it. I have read somewhere that they both proceed from the great sea; but it is much more probable that they fall into it; inasmuch as a person travelling from Farghānah makes a gradual descent in his progress as far as Egypt, and thence again to the westernmost parts of al-Maghrib. In fact, the inhabitants of al-'Irāq speak of the Persians as the dwellers in the high-lands, and call the people of al-Maghrib dwellers in the lowlands. This confirms[1] what we have supposed; and the inference to be drawn therefrom is that these seas are rivers collected into large bodies of water, and falling into the ocean; but the real state of things is known to God alone. Abū Zaid gives the number of seas as three, by the addition of the all-encircling ocean; we have however excluded this from the number, because it is known to surround the earth on all sides as with a ring, and has neither bound nor limit. Al-Jaihānī,[2] on the other hand, makes them five by the further addition of the Sea of the Khazars[3] [the Caspian] and the Channel of Constantinople.[4]

[1] Reading يؤيد for يريد which is the textual reading but seems unsatisfactory.

[2] C: as well as the author of az-Zīj and Qudāmah al-Kātib.

[3] The name of 'sea of the Khazars' has also been applied to the Black Sea; and from the mention of this name in connection with the Khalīj or Channel of Constantinople, which is the Sea of Marmora, it might be supposed that the Euxine is the sea intended here; indeed, some geographers, such as Ibn Khurdādhbah, apply this name exclusively to the Black Sea, while they call the Caspian by the name of the Sea of Jurjān. Our author however, distinctly says that it is also called the 'Lake of Ṭabaristān,' thus leaving no room for doubt as to which sea is meant. In all other places of this work the 'Sea of the Khazars' represents, as here, the Caspian Sea.

[4] The Khalīj, or Channel of Constantinople, is the modern Sea of Marmora. Ibn Khurdādhbah (p. 103), places it correctly at the entrance of the Black Sea which he calls the 'Sea of the Khazars;' he is wrong however in saying that it is the same as the sea called 'Buntus.' The Buntus [Pontus Euxinus]

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But we have limited ourselves to the number given in the Book of God, where it is written, "He hath made to flow the *two* seas that meet together; between them is a barrier they cannot pass and from them pearls and corals are taken forth,"[1] — the barrier being the strip of land between al-Faramā and al-Qulzum a distance of three days' journey. If it be said that the word of God refers to the great and immiscible bodies of fresh and salt water, as where it is written, 'And He it is who hath made to flow the two seas,' etc.; [2] we answer that pearls and corals are not found in fresh water, whereas God says *from them;* and the learned are unanimous that pearls are obtained from the Chinese Sea and corals from the Sea of ar-Rūm, therefore we conclude that the reference is to these two particular seas. Again, if it be presumed that the seas are in fact seven in number, for the Most
17. High hath said, 'And were the trees that are in the earth pens and the sea ink, with *seven* more seas to swell its tide," [3] and a still further addition be made of the Overturned Lake [the Dead Sea][4] and the Lake of Khuwārizm [Sea of Aral]; we reply that it is not said here that the seas are seven, but a mention is made of the Arabian Sea with the supposition that were seven seas like unto it to be turned into ink as well;—as we also read, 'Even if the wicked possessed all that is in the earth and as much again therewith.'[5] But even were the position admissible the seas would be eight, instead of seven; and for the sake of argument we are willing to concede the point, and say that the sea is the sea of al-Ḥijāz and the seven are:—the sea of al-Qulzum, the sea of al-Yaman, the sea of 'Umān, the sea of Mukrān, the sea of Kirmān, the sea of

is the Black Sea itself; and at no time has the Khalīj been so called. The ancient name of the Khalīj is '*Propontis.*' Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 133) appears to extend the name of Khalīju-l Qusṭanṭīniyyah to the whole of the Black Sea.

[1] Qur'ān, LV. 19 *et seq.*

[2] Qur'ān, XXV. 55.

[3] Qur'ān, XXXI. 26.

[4] Of the names given to this remarkable lake, that of *al-Maqlūbah*, ('Overturned' or 'Perverse') is the most expressive, as at once recalling the memory of the great catastrophe with which it is associated, and describing in a word its general character. The name may have been suggested by Qur'ān XI. 84; for the destruction of the cities on its borders as related in that Book, was brought about by turning them upside down. Cf. Sale's Koran, p. 183 note e.

[5] Qur'ān, XXXIX. 48.

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Fāris and the sea of Hajar.[1] These are eight, the number contained in the verse. If it were urged that the consequence of this interpretation would be to make the seas more than ten, as you have omitted the Sea of China and the Indian and Ethiopic seas; we answer in the first place that God has spoken to the Arabs of facts which they knew and which were always before their eyes, to bring the argument home to their minds; and in fact all their sea voyages were over these very waters, which under one name or another surround their country from al-Qulzum to 'Abbādān; and in the second place, we do not deny that the seas might be numerous, and only eight have been mentioned in this verse. If it were retorted that this turns against you and compels you to admit that the seas may be seven and only two have been mentioned in that verse; we reply that there is no similarity between the two; for God saith in that verse, 'He let flow *the* two seas that meet together,' referring, no doubt, to two particular seas; since the article *al*, when not giving the species of a thing, points out an object definitely; in this verse, however, He hath said, 'with seven more seas to swell its tide,' without inserting the definite article; thus leaving room for the idea that they might be seven out of a number, as where it is said, 'He made (the winds) to prevail against them seven nights and eight days together,'[2] for many are the days of the Lord; but in this other verse, 'He hath also turned in mercy unto *the* three who were left behind,'[3] it cannot be said that the delinquents[4] were possibly more than three. If it were argued, however, that as[5] there is a difference of opinion in the interpretation of the first verse, and as the Sea of China does not in fact meet the Grecian Sea, the argument based upon

[1] Al-Baḥrain.

[2] Qur'ān, LXIX. 7.

[3] Qur'ān, IX. 119.

[4] Three of the Anṣārs who refused to accompany Muḥammad to Tabūk. (Palmer's Qur'ān, I. p. 190). This expedition undertaken in the ninth year of the Hijrah was directed against the Syrian possessions of the Byzantine Empire, which ultimately passed into the hands of the Muslims, six years after, under the *Khilāfat* of 'Umar. The history of the present expedition conducted by Muḥammad himself, is summed up in the expressive words of Abu-l Faraj Barhebræus, that 'there was no occasion for any fight.'

[5] The edited text has لم, but the correct reading is لما as in C.

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the verse in question falls to the ground; and therefore, in accordance with the other verse, which remains undisputed, the seas *must* be seven;—we answer that all difference is removed by the words, 'from them pearls and corals are taken forth;' and as to their meeting, I have been assured by several of the elders of Egypt that the Nile used to flow into the Chinese sea,[1] till quite lately. If it be said here 'Your interpretation involves contradiction, (and God forbid that His word should contradict itself), since you would make the two seas meet together and yet have, as you say, a distance of three days' journey between them; while the sense we have ourselves given is consistent, as their meeting according to us is the flowing of the fresh over the salt water, and the barrier, the prevention of their mixing with each other;'—we reply our explanation also is consistent and evenly balanced in every part; for we have already said that the Nile used to flow into the Chinese sea, and as the waters of that river at present actually flow into the Grecian sea, the Nile in this way becomes the medium of their communication. Indeed, it is said that the mother of Mūsā, *on him be peace*, cast the ark wherein she had laid him into the sea of al-Qulzum and that it came out into the Nile near the capital.[2] Besides, the meeting of two

[1] This no doubt refers to the canal of Trajan which connected the Pelusiac branch of the Nile with Arsinoe, at the northern extremity of the Heroopolite Gulf, in the Red Sea. The original canal, known as the river of Ptolemy (Πτολεμαῖος ποταμός), was commenced by Pharaoh Necho II. (B. C. 480), but only completed by Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 274). Having in the meantime fallen into decay, the canal was restored by Trajan, A.D. 106; but the direction of the cutting was altered, so that instead of the current running from the Red Sea, as before, it now ran into it, about 20 miles S. of Arsinoe, at a town called Klysmon. It was now called the canal of Trajan; and was still open to traffic, seven centuries after Trajan's decease, which brings the date down to the beginning of the third century of the Hijrah. See Smith's Dict. sub 'Nilus,' Vol. II, 433b.

[2] Mūsā (Moses) was born in Tanis, the capital of that Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrew people. It was situated on the Tanitic arm of the Nile, in lat. 30° 59′. (Smith's Dict., Tanis.) Long before the birth of Moses, the Israelites had spread in all parts of Egypt and only the bulk of the nation remained in the land of Goshen, which had become too narrow for the numerous descendants of Jacob. It was to Tanis that the father of Moses had retired with his family. (See *L'Art de vérifier les dates, Ire Partie*, I, 356.

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things does not necessarily imply their actual contact with each other, as there may be a partition or an intervening space between two objects which meet; whereas, what they mean should be called admixture not merely meeting. If it were asked, Why have you included the seas of the Persians in the number of the seven seas, in spite of your saying that God spoke to the Arabs of what they knew? We answer in the first place that the Arabs not seldom travelled to Fāris; for has not 'Umar ibnu-l Khaṭṭāb (*May God be gracious to him*!) said, 'I have learnt justice from Kisrā;'[1] and then praised that monarch's wisdom and government? Again, those who take a journey to Hajar and 'Abbādān must necessarily pass by the seas of Fāris, Kirmān and Tīz-Mukrān;[2] and indeed many people actually call this part of the sea as far as the coast of al-Yaman by the general name of the sea of Fāris; while most of the ship-builders and sea-faring men are Persians. Furthermore, the sea from 'Umān as far as 'Abbādān is of little breadth and well-known to travellers in all its parts; If it were added, 'Why then have you not said the same in respect of the sea of al-Qulzum, to where it increases in breadth?' We answer, 'we have said before this[3] that from al-Qulzum to 'Aidhāb and farther down, the country is a waste desert after no part of which has it ever been known that this sea was called; 19. besides, we have settled this question in one of our preceding answers.'[4] If it were said, how is it possible that one and the same sea could be made into eight different seas?—we reply that this is well-known to every one who undertakes a sea voyage;

[1] Two Persian monarchs have borne the name of Chosroes; the first was the great Anūshirwān, who reigned from A.D. 531 till 579 and is celebrated to this day as a model of justice; but as he died nearly three years before the birth of 'Umar, the latter's knowledge of him must have been derived from popular report. The second Chosroes, surnamed Parwīz, was the grandson of Anūshirwān and reigned from A.D. 590 or 591 till 628, six years after the Flight. He it was whom Muḥammad called to embrace the new religion; and would seem to be the *Kisrā* of the text, were it not that justice must always be coupled with the name of Anūshirwān.

[2] Tīz-Mukrān, *i.e.*, the port of Tīz in Mukrān, in lat. 25° 24′ N. long. 60° 45′ E.

[3] See page 11, l. 16 of the text, and p. 15,l. 22 of this translation.

[4] *I.e*, when he said that 'the seas might be numerous' and so not limiting himself to any number.

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and God has actually called the Sea of ar-Rūm by the name of 'the two seas'; for has He not said, "Remember when Moses said to his servant, 'I will not stop till I reach the confluence of the *two seas*, or for years will I journey on.' But when they reached *their* confluence, etc.?"[1] All this had taken place on the shores of Syria where visible marks, prominent among which stands the rock of Mūsā,[2] bear witness to these events to this day. If it were said, Why then have you not interpreted the 'two seas let loose' as meaning but one sea?—we answer that is inadmissible; for God has said that there is a barrier between them, and a barrier is an obstacle intervening between *two* things. But to bring the discussion to an end we would say to such an obstinate opponent 'If the case be as you suppose, point out any eight seas existing in the countries of Islām;' and now if he were to mention the circumambient ocean, we would take exception to this on the ground of its being on the confines of the whole earth with no known limits; and if he names the Channel of Constantinople we would say that is only a gulf of the sea of ar-Rūm running on the further side of Sicily;[3] for, do not all their piratical expeditions take place on its waters? and if he were to mention the sea of the Khazars [the Caspian], we would say that is a lake—indeed, it is generally known by the name of the Lake of Ṭabaristān—and the closeness of its shores proves it beyond doubt; and finally if he were to bring in the Overturned Lake [the Dead Sea] and the Lake of Khuwārizm [the Aral], we would tell him, He who counts these in the number of seas has to reckon also the lakes of ar-Riḥāb, Fāris and Turkistān, and thus bring up the number to more than twenty. Therefore, if he is disposed to be just, he will accept our statement of the facts; however God knows best.

Of the rivers flowing through the empire, the remarkable ones are, in my judgment, twelve:—Dijlah [the Tigris], al-Furāt [the Euphrates], an-Nīl [the Nile], Jaiḥūn [the Oxus], Nahru-

[1] Qur'ān, XVIII. 59 *et seq.*

[2] This rock, where Moses is said to have met with al-Khiḍhr, is located by some in the neighbourhood of Antioch, and by others near Shirwān.

[3] We have said before that the Channel of Constantinople is the modern Sea of Marmora; hence the author is wrong in saying that it runs on the further side of Sicily, whatever that may mean.

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sh-Shāsh [1] [the Jaxartes], Saiḥān, [2] Jaiḥān,[3] Baradān,[4] Mihrān [the Indus], Nahru-r-Rass [5] [the Araxes], Nahru-l Malik [6] and Nahru-l Ahwāz ;[7] all of which are navigable. Less considerable than these, are the following rivers :—Nahru-l Marwain,[8] the river of Harāt,[9] the river of Sijistān,[10] the river of Balkh,[11] Nahru-ṣ-Ṣughd,[12] Ṭaifūrī,[13] Zandarūd,[14] Nahru-l 'Abbās,[15] Baradā,[16] Nahru-l Urdunn [the Jordan], al-Maqlūb [17] *or the Inverted* [the Orontes], the river of Anṭākiyah,'[18] the river of Arrajān,'[19] the

1 The river of ash-Shāsh, from the district of that name on its borders.

2 The ancient Sarus. Smith's Dict., Vol. I, 619*a* and Abulf. I, 63.

3 The ancient Pyramus. Smith, I, 619*b* and Abulf. I, 62.

4 The river of Tarsus, the ancient Cydnus. Smith, I, 618*b*.

5 Smith, I, 188*a*. Abulf. I, 76. It is now called the Aras or Arax.

6 The river Samūr (K.-J. Plate 29 Mc); probably the ancient Albanus.

7 Called also the river of Tustar. It is the ancient Eulaeus, and the modern *Kārūn*.

8 The river Murghāb which passes by the two cities of Marw ; namely, Marw ash-Shāhijānand Marw ar-Rūdh. Its ancient name was Margus (Smith, II, 274 *b*).

9 The ancient Arius; now the *Heri Rud*.

10 The river Hind-mand ; now called the Hilmand. Its ancient name was Erymandrus (Smith, I, 850 *b*.)

11 The river on which Balkh is situated, the ancient Bactrus. The Oxus is also called the river of Balkh.

12 The *Zar-Afshan* or " gold scattering " river of Samarqand ; the ancient Polytimetus. Smith *sub* Oxia Palus. Abulf. II, 213.

13 The river of Jurjān ; the *Gurgan* or *Gurkan* of K.-J., plate 31 Fb.

14 The river of Iṣfahān ; the Zendeh of K.-J., plate 31 Ed.

15 A river of Khūzistān.

16 The river of Damascus ; the Chrysorroa of Strabo and Pliny and probably the Abana of Scripture. Smith, I, 749 *a*.

17 The present name of this river is *al-'Āṣī* 'the rebel,' from its *refusal* to water the fields without the compulsion of water-wheels, according to Abu-l Fidā, but according to Mr. Barker " from its occasional violence and windings." (Smith, Orontes, II, 494*a*.) It has also been called *al-Maqlūb*, 'the inverted,' because 'contrary to all other rivers in Syria it flows from south to north ' Géo. d' Aboulf. I, 61.

18 This refers to the lower course of the Orontes, between Antioch and the sea.

19 This is the river Ṭāb itself which issuing from the mountains of Iṣfahān passes by the town of Arrajān and ultimately flows into the Persian Gulf. The two names are probably meant to designate the upper and lower courses of the river.

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20. river Shīrīn[1] and the river of Samandar.[2] The remaining rivers are small; and some of them will be mentioned in our account of the different provinces, such as the river Ṭāb,[3] an-Nahrawān,[4] az-Zāb[5] and the like. The Tigris[6] has its source in a spring issuing from under the fortress of Dhu-l Qarnain, near the gate of the dark regions,[7] in the province of Aqūr [Mesopotamia], above al-Mauṣil.[8] Lower down, it is joined by several rivers including az-Zāb; and later on by the Euphrates and the branches of an-Nahrawān in the district of Baghdād.[9] The Euphrates rises in the country of ar-Rūm;[10] it then arches round[11] the province of Aqūr; receives its affluent, the Khābūr;[12] then enters al-'Irāq where it expands itself into the

[1] A river of Fāris. Abulf. I, 74. It is marked in K.-J., plate 31 De.

[2] Samandar, the older capital of the Khazars, answers to the modern town of Tarkhu in the Russian province of Dāghistān, near the Caspian Sea. The river of Samandar is therefore either the Sulak or the Terek of modern maps.

[3] The Arosis or Oroatis of the ancients. It is the same as the river of Arrajān.

[4] A canal that passed through the district of an-Nahrawānāt, between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ, on the eastern side of the Tigris. The fate of the canal, is told in Yāqūt, IV., 847. It is marked in K.-J., plate 29 Lg.

[5] The name of two rivers in Assyria, in close proximity the one to the other, and which rising in the mountains on the confines of Armenia and Kurdistān, flow into the Tigris not many miles below the great mound of *Nimrūd*. The rivers are the *Greater Zāb* known to the ancients as the Lycus or Zabatus, and the *Lesser Zāb*, anciently called the Caprus. See Smith's Dict. under these names.

[6] See *J. R. A. S.* January, 1895, p. 33.

[7] The story of Dhu-l Qarnain and his entrance into the dark regions belongs to myth history; it is however true as far as al-Muqaddasī is concerned. The story will be again referred to in another part of the book.

[8] For 'above al-Mauṣil' C has: between two mountains in the vicinity of Āmid; then it is joined by a river issuing from the direction of Balad; it again falls between two mountains.

[9] C: Its length down to 'Abbādān is about 800 miles!

[10] C adds: between Malaṭyah (Melitene) and Shimshāṭ (Armosota or Arsamosota). By the country of ar-Rūm is meant the Eastern Roman or Greek empire. The Euphrates has its sources in Taurus. See *J. R. A. S.* January, 1895, p. 46.

[11] C adds: in a southerly direction.

[12] A large river which rises in M. Masius (the modern *Karja Baghlar*) about 40 miles from Nisibis (Naṣībīn), and flows into the Euphrates at

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broad marshes on the far side of al-Kūfah, and meets the Tigris in four channels.[1] The Nile issues forth from the country of the Nubians; then passes through the middle of Egypt, and divides below al-Fusṭāṭ into two branches falling into the sea, the one at al-Iskandariyyah [Alexandria] and the other at Dimyāṭ [Damietta]. According to al-Jaihānī, it rises in the mountain of the moon;[2] is then discharged into two lakes to the south of the equator;[3] and thence flows through the land of the Nubians. Others have said that it is not known where it begins or whence it comes.[4] Abū Ṣāliḥ, the amanuensis of al-Laiṯh ibn Sa'd, has 21.

Circesium (Qarqīsiyā). Smith's Dict., Chaboras. See *J. R. A. S.* January 1895, pp. 51, 55.

[1] C for this: then it divides into two branches, the one taking a westerly direction till it reaches al-Kūfah, and the other continuing its direct course through the plains of Baghdād which it waters. A part of it is then lost in marshes, and a part meets the Tigris at Wāsiṭ, after a number of streams have branched off from it below al-Anbār meeting the Tigris in the district of Baghdād. From its source in uppermost Aqūr to where it ceases to flow, at the other side of Wāsiṭ, the distance is 135 miles (!)

[2] Some authors have determined the form of this word as 'the mountain of al-Qumr,' and say that it was so named after a race of people who came to settle at its foot from their island home which was called 'Qumriyyah.' It is strange, however, that there should have ever been a doubt as to the real name of the mountain or mountains in question; for Abu-l Fidā' in speaking of the sources of the Nile expressly says, (Reinaud's translation, I, 56), Nous ne savons à cet égard que ce que nous ont transmis les *Grecs*, et qui provient de *Ptolémée*; c'est qu'il descend de la montagne de comr (?), etc. These mountains are called by Ptolemy Σελήνης ὄρος Αἰθιοπίας (Lunae Montes), the proper reading is therefore 'mountain of al-Qamar.' *See* also Géo, d'Aboulf., I, 81 and De Sacy's Relation de l' E'gypte, p. 7.

[3] *See* Géo. d' Aboulf., I. 45 and note 2.

[4] For this C has: The Nile issues from the country of the Nubians, in the district of the Upper Ṣa'īd and flows to the city of Uswān; then it turns aside winding between the mountains called Balūqiyā; then returns into Maqadhūniyah, passes by al-Fusṭāṭ in its course and subsequently divides into seven arms. Of these, one arm goes to Alexandria and falls westward into the sea, in two channels; while the remaining six flow in a direct course toward two lakes—where Tinnīs and Dimyāṭ are situated—connected with the Sea of ar-Rūm. I have heard it said that a branch of the Nile used to flow toward the Sea of China, falling into it above al-Qulzum; this place was pointed out to me. The length of this river from its source at the extremity of the province to its mouth is 2,000 miles.

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reported the following tradition[1] on the authority of al-Laiṯh himself:—It is related—whether in accordance with the real state of things God only knows—that there was a man of the children of al-'Īṣ,[2] named Ḥā'iḏh ibn-Abī Shālūm ibn al-'Īṣ, who, in apprehension of danger from a certain king of theirs, fled the country and came into the land of Egypt, where he resided many years. At last, struck with the wonders of the Nile and the marvellous results it produced, he resolved in the name of God not to leave the riverside till he gained the extremity of it where it issues from its fountain-head, unless death should overtake him in the meanwhile. So he set out on his journey till arrested in his progress by a green sea, through which the Nile continued its course uninterrupted. [This sea, al-Muqaddasī says, is the circumambient ocean.] He turned to walk along the sea-shore; and having gone some distance, he lighted upon a man standing in prayer under an apple-tree. And when he saw him he yearned towards him; and, approaching, accosted him with the salutation of peace. Then said the man, "Who art thou?" He replied, "I am Ḥā'iḏh, the son of Abū Shālūm, son of al-'Īṣ, son of Isḥāq [Isaac], *on whom be the blessing and peace of God*! And who art thou?" "I am 'Imrān, the son of al-'Īṣ, son of Isḥāq, *Peace be with him*!" "And what has made thee come hither, O 'Imrān?" "That brought me hither which has been the occasion of thy coming, but when I had reached thus far, God commanded me and said, 'Stay thou in this place till my will shall be made known to thee." Then said he, "O 'Imrān, do thou tell me all about the Nile." He answered "I will not tell thee aught, unless thou doest what I shall ask thee." "And what is that?" said he. "If, on thy return, I should be still alive, thou shalt stay with me till the Lord shall reveal to me what to do or else shall take away my life, and then I trust to thee for burial." He replied, "I agree to this;" whereupon 'Imrān

[1] The following is the list of authorities for this tradition, according to the text:—Abu-l Ḥasan al-Khalīl ibnu-l Ḥasan as-Sarakhsī; Abu-l Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Qanṭarī (from *Qanṭaratu-l Baradān*, a quarter of Baghdād); al-Ma'mūn ibn Aḥmad as-Salmī; Muḥammad ibn Khalaf; Abū Ṣāliḥ ('Abdu-llah ibn Ṣāliḥ) the amanuensis of al-Laiṯh ibn Sa'd; and al-Laiṯh ibn Sa'd (93-175 H., an-Nawawī, p. 529).

[2] Esau; the Greeks and Romans are called by the Arabs 'Banu-l 'Īṣ,' as they are supposed to be of Idumean descent. *See* D' Herbelot, Vol. I, 142.

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said: "If thou continuest thy course along the shore of this sea thou shalt come to where thou findest a quadruped which confronts the sun and, at its rising, rushes forward with the object of swallowing it. Have thou no fear of it, but bestride it and it shall carry thee to the other side of the sea: arriving there, walk back along the shore till thou again comest to the Nile. Then follow its course and thou shalt reach a region of iron, where the mountains, the trees and the plains are all [of iron. Pass on and 22.
thou shalt reach a region of silver, where the mountains, the trees and all other objects are of silver. Pass on again and thou shalt come to a region of gold, where everything is] [1] of gold. At the end of this region thou shalt see a vaulted chamber of gold and here will the secret of the Nile be disclosed to thee." Accordingly, he went his way till at last he came to the vaulted chamber, and lo! water flowed down the wall into the chamber, and having divided, issued forth through the four doors.[2] Three of the channels, however, penetrated below the surface and only one flowed on the face of the earth, and this was the Nile. He drank of its waters and rested, then advanced to the wall and was about to ascend it when an angel appeared to him and said, 'O Ḥā'idh, stay where thou art, for now thou knowest fully the secret of the Nile, and this is Paradise,'—and so on to the end of the tradition.[3] The Jaiḥūn [Oxus] takes its rise in the country of Wakhkhān and flows onwards in the direction of al-Khuttal, where it swells in size and volume by receiving the waters of six tributary streams,[4]—the river of Hulbuk, next in order the river Barbān, then the river of Fārghar, then the river of Andījārāgh and then the river Wakhshāb, which is the deepest; it is then

[1] The words within brackets are wanting in the text; they have been supplied from Yāqūt, IV, 869, l. 1–3.

[2] The text refers to the wall and four doors of the chamber as if previously mentioned. This, however, is not the case; and recourse is again to be had to Yāqūt. He has, 'After walking through the land of gold for some time, he came to a golden wall, on which was a vaulted chamber having four doors,' etc.

[3] The curious may find the continuation of this story in Yāqūt, IV, 869, who supplements it with the remark that it is a story which looks very much like a fable, but that it is widely diffused and found in many books—his only apology for inserting it in his work.

[4] The source of the Oxus is called the *Jaryāb* or 'river of Badakhshān.' To this, five other streams join in the districts of al-Khuttal and al-Wakhsh

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joined by the river of al-Quwādiyān; then by the rivers of aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān. All these are on the Haiṭal [1] side of the river. It then flows broad and deep to Khuwārizm, and discharges itself into a lake of bitter water,[2] after having irrigated a number of large towns and all the cities of Khuwārizm, east and west. The Nahru-sh-Shāsh [3] [Jaxartes] rises to the right of the country of the Turks and falls likewise into the Lake of Khuwārizm [the Sea of Aral]; it comes near to the Oxus in magnitude, but it has a death-like appearance.[4] The Saiḥān, the Jaiḥān and the

These unite to make the Jaiḥūn a considerable river even before it is joined by the streams of the other districts. The author speaks of *six* rivers flowing into the Oxus in its early course, but he gives the names of only five; it is to be inferred therefore that he includes in this number the river Jaryāb, the main stream of the Oxus, which he does not mention by name. Ptolemy also speaks of five rivers which fall into the Oxus,—the Ochus, Dargamanis, Zariaspes, Artamis, Dargoidus; but the account he gives of these rivers is somewhat confused. *See* Smith's Dict., I, 364*b*.

[1] Mā-warā'a-n-Nahr or Transoxiana has also been called Haiṭal, from the *Hayāṭilah* who had their settlements on that side of the river. According to Deguignes (Histoire des Huns, tome I, partie 2, p. 325), the ancient name of this people who were of Hunnic origin was Tele or Tie-lé; and when the Huns were driven out of the north of China, these settled down on the banks of the Oxus and so came to be called the "Āb-Tele," *i.e.*, the Telites of the river. From Āb-Tele it is but an easy transition to *Hayāṭilah*, the name by which they are known to the Arabs. Some authors, including al-Muqaddasī, would have us believe that Haiṭal and Khurāsān were two brothers, sons of 'Ālim, the son of Sām [Shem], son of Nūḥ [Noah], who after the confusion of tongues at Babel and the consequent dispersion of mankind, came to settle on each side of the Jaiḥūn and gave their names to the countries which they occupied.

[2] It is almost certain now that the Jaiḥūn, or *Amū Daryā*, which flows into the Lake of Aral, formerly had its *débouche* into the Caspian at the S.E. of the *Bay of Balkan*. For full particulars concerning this question consult Smith's Dict. under 'Oxus.'

[3] The *Syr Daryā* has its source in the Tian-Shan mountains, a lofty range called by the Chinese the "Mountains of Heaven" and situated on the northern frontier of Chinese Turkistan. The river which takes a N.W. course through the Kizil-kum and Kara-kum deserts, has a length of 1,500 miles from its source to the Sea of Aral, into which it flows on its E. shores.

[4] The slowness of the current of the Jaxartes is not corroborated by any other writer; perhaps the reference is to the muddy, *yellow* water of the river. C adds here; 'a narrow strip of water runs from it into the land between Usrūshnah and Ghujandah. The length of this river from beginning to end is 140 *farsakhs*.' See however last note.

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Baradān are the rivers of Ṭarasūs, Adhanah and al-Maṣṣīṣah.[1] They issue from the country of ar-Rūm and empty themselves into the sea. This is the case with all the rivers of Syria, with the exception of the river Baradā and al-Urdunn [the Jordan] which fall into the Overturned lake [the Dead Sea]. The Baradā proceeds from the mountains of Damascus, passes through the capital and irrigates the whole district. What remains of its waters separates soon afterward, one part spreading over the extreme side of the district, where it stagnates, and the other part flowing downwards to the Jordan. The river Mihrān [the Indus][2] flows out of al-Hind into the sea of China, and receives in its course through 23.
the country a large number of rivers. In the taste and colour of its water, in its rise and in the presence of crocodiles in it, this river resembles the Nile. The Nahru-r-Rass, the Nahru-l Malik and the Nahru-l Kurr[3] proceed all three from the countries of ar-Rūm and irrigate the province of ar-Riḥāb; they then fall into the lake of the Khazars [the Caspian]. The rivers of al-Ahwāz[4]

[1] Not in their respective order, however; for the Saiḥān is the river of Adhanah, the Jaiḥān that of al-Maṣṣīṣah and the Baradān that of Ṭarasūs.

[2] The main stream of the Indus was known to Muslim writers as the Mihrān, a name of foreign origin according to Yāqūt. Al-Bīrūnī (India, p. 260) says that it is so called after it has passed Aror or Alor, now a ruined town in the vicinity of Rohri and formerly the capital of the Hindū Rājās of Sind (Hunter's Imp. Gazetteer, I, 332); but Rennell (Description de l'Inde, III, 66), on the authority of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* no doubt, says that it takes this name near the town of Tatta. *See* Jarrett's translation of the *Āīn*, p. 327 and note 1. Ouseley, who is quoted in this note, seems to have incorrectly translated his text, for Ibn Ḥauqal does not take the Oxus to be the source of the Mihrān, but says that it springs from the back of a mountain from which some affluents of the Jaiḥūn rise (*Al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, p. 234). That the Mihrān was joined by a river called the Sind at three marches from Multān, is confirmed by other writers. They all call the river Sind-rūdh and say that it flows into the Mihrān below al-Multān. It is most probable that the Sind-rūdh is the modern *Sutlej*, which in Sanscrit is called by the name of Sātadru (Smith's Dict., *sub* Hyphasis). Between Sind-rūdh or Sindru and Sātadru when written in Arabic characters, there is but a slight difference; but the *Sutlej* may have been called the Sind-rūdh or 'the river Sind' because it falls into the Indus, for according to the *Āīn*, (Jarrett, II, 327) 'Every river that discharges itself into the Indus takes its name of *Sindh*.'

[3] Anciently called the Cyrus; and now with but little change, the *Kūr*.

[4] *See* J. R. A. S., April 1895, p. 309 *n* 3 and 311 *et seq*.

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consist of a number of streams flowing down from the mountains over the country. They are then united at Hiṣn Mahdī and fall into the sea of China, in the neighbourhood of 'Abbādān. I have found the following passage in a book in the town of al-Baṣrah, "Four rivers on this earth have their origin in Paradise, the Nile, Jaiḥūn [the Oxus], the Euphrates and ar-Rass[1] [the Araxes]; and four are of the rivers of hell, az-Zabadānī,[2] al-Kurr, Sanjah[3] and as-Samm.[4] The rivers of al-Marwain, Harāt, Sijistān and Balkh spring from the four sides of the country of al-Ghūr[5] and flow down and irrigate the districts mentioned. The Ṭaifūrī descends from the mountains of Jurjān and waters the district. The river of ar-Raiy spouts in a narrow jet from above the town; then divides into several streams and comes down toward the city. The Zandarūd descends from

[1] Others say the *Saiḥūn*, which Ibnu-l 'Abbās takes to be the Tigris (*Kitābu-l Buldān*, p. 95). The rivers of Paradise are to be traced no doubt to Gen. ii. Cf. ad-Dimashqī, p. 88.

[2] Az-Zabadānī is the name of a pleasant village on the bank of the *Baradā*, at about 18 miles from Damascus. The *Baradā* or one of its numerous streams must be meant here, and in fact the water of this river is not at all good for drinking, and those who ordinarily drink it are in general subject to goitre. *See* Smith's Dict., I, 749 *a*.

[3] The Sanjah, also called *an-Nahru-l Azraq*, is an affluent of the Euphrates described as a considerable stream of which the bed is covered with quicksand; so that one fording it would run an imminent risk of being ingulfed. The bridge over this river was considered one of the wonders of the world. In its present Turkish name, the '*Gok Su*' (K.-J. plate 29 He), the river has preserved its ancient name of *an-Nahru-l Azraq*, or the Blue River. *See* Yāqūt, III, 162 and Géo. d'Aboulf, Introduct. p. 16 *n* 1 and Vol. II, 45.

[4] This is no doubt the *Jabalu-s-Samm* or 'mountain of poison,' referred to in Yāqūt (I, 820). It is in reality two mountains separated by a ravine over which a bridge has been built to pass from Khutan to Tibbat. The air of this ravine is so suffocating that many of those who attempt to cross the bridge die before reaching the other side of it.

There is also in China, near the Palace of Faghfūr, by which the Imperial City is meant, a fountain known as '*Ainu-s-Samm*, the Fountain of Poison. The water of this fountain is very sweet and agreeable to the taste; but when carried to a distance of about one *farsakh*, it turns into a deadly poison. See *Rauḍhatu-ṣ-Ṣafā'*, Bombay Lithograph, VIII. 15.

[5] A mountainous country between Harāt and Ghaznīn, famous in history as the home of a powerful line of Sulṭāns of the Shansabāniyyah family to which belonged the celebrated Shihābu-d-Dīn. The capital of Ghūr was Fīrūz-Koh.

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the mountains of Iṣfahān, enters into al-Yahūdiyyah and irrigates the district. The rivers of Fāris on the other hand fall into five lakes which are in that province. The river Ṭāb comes forth 24. from al-Burj,[1] above Sumairam, flows on the confines of Fāris and falls into the sea of China near Sīnīz. Lastly, the river of Arrajān flows from the mountains of Fāris; receives a quantity of salt water below al-'Aqabah [mountain-road] and irrigates the district by the division of its waters into many artificial channels.

Names and their variations.

Know that there exists in the kingdom of Islâm a number of towns, districts and villages, which have similar names but quite different situations. As most people are in a state of uncertainty with respect to these places and the persons connected with them by birth, we have thought fit to give prominence in this chapter to their particular mention. We shall also give the names of things that are differently called in different countries, as a knowledge of this will doubtless be serviceable to those who visit these countries.

As-Sūs, a district at the furthest extremity of al-Maghrib, a town at the beginning of it,[2] another in Haiṭal and a district in Khūzistān; there is also a *Sūsah* in al-Maghrib. *Aṭrābulus* [Tripoli], a town on the littoral of the district of Dimashq and another on the coast of Barqah. *Bairūt*, a town in the district of Dimashq and another in Khūzistān. *'Asqalān* [Ascalon], a town on the coast of Filasṭīn [Palestine] and a *mimbar*[3] in Balkh. *Ramādah*, a town in al-Maghrib, a village in Balkh, another in Naisābūr and another in ar-Ramlah. *Ṭabarān*, a town on the borders of Qūmis, and the *rustāq* or district of the town of Sarakhs; *Ṭābarān*, the capital of Ṭūs; *Ṭabaristān*, a district; *Ṭabariyyah* [Tiberias], the capital of al-Urdunn; *Ṭuwārān*, a district in as-Sind; and *Ṭabarak*,[4] a place in ar-Raiy. *Qūhistān*, a district in Khurāsān and a town in Kirmān. *Ṭabasu-t-Tamr*

[1] This place is wrongly called al-Marj in Abu-l Fidā' I, 74.

[2] A town of Barqah [Barca]; the *Marsa Susa* of Keith Johnston, plate 37 Lb.

[3] *Mimbar* properly means 'a pulpit' and by consequence 'a mosque.' With reference to the latter meaning it came also to mean 'a small town or village where there is a mosque.' *See* Gloss. Edrīsī.

[4] *See* Barbier de Meynard's *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 387.

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and *Ṭabasu-l-'Unnāb*, two towns in the district of Qūhistān. *Dihistān*, a town in Kirmān, a tract of country in Jurjān and another in Bādaghīs. *Nasā*, a town in Khurāsān, another in Fāris and another in Kirmān. *Al-Baiḍhā'*, another name for Nasā of Fāris, a district in al-Maghrib and a town in the district of al-Khazar. *Al-*
25. *Baṣrah* in al-'Irāq and a town in al-Maghrib. *Al-Ḥīrah*,[1] a town formerly existing in the district of al-Kūfah, a village in Fāris, a halting-place in Sijistān and a quarter in the city of Naisābūr. *Al-Jūr*, a town in Fāris, and the quarter of *Al-Jūr* in Naisābūr. *Ḥulwān*, a district in al-'Irāq, a town in Miṣr, a village in Naisābūr and another in Qūhistān. *Karkh*, a town in the district of Sāmarrā, a quarter in the city of Baghdād, a *mimbar* in ar-Rihāb and a village in the district of Baghdād; *Karkhah*, a town in Khūzistān; and *Karūkh*, a town in Harāt. *Ash-Shāsh*, a district in Haiṭal and a village in ar-Raiy. *Astarābādh*, a town in Jurjān and a village in Nasā of Khurāsān. *Karaj*, a tract and town of Hamadhān and a village in ar-Raiy. *Dastajird*, a town in aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān, several villages in ar-Raiy and Naisābūr, and the town of *Dastajird* in Kirmān. *Mughūn*, a town in Qūmis, and another in Kirmān. *Bāsand*, a town in aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān, and another in as-Sind. *Āwah*, two towns in al-Jibāl. *Al-Ahwāz*, the capital of Khūzistān and a village in ar-Raiy. *Ar-Raqqah*, in Athūr [Mesopotamia] and a town in Qūhistān. *Khuwār*, a town in the district of ar-Raiy and another on the borders of Qūmis; *Khūr* in Balkh and *Khūr* in Qūhistān. *Nūqān*, a town in Ṭūs and a village in Naisābūr; *Mūqān*, a town in ar-Riḥāb and *Manūqān*, a town in Kirmān. *Al-Kūfah*, in al-'Irāq; *Kūfā*, a town in Bādaghīs; and *Kūfan*, the stronghold of Abīward. *Khāniqīn*, a town in Ḥulwān of al-'Irāq; *al-Khāniqīn*, in the district of al-Kūfah; *Khānūqah*, in the district of Athūr, and *al-Khāniqah*, the monastery of the Karrāmiyyah sect in Īliyā [Jerusalem]. *Al-Ḥadīthah*, a town on the Tigris and another on the Euphrates,

[1] The capital of the Manādhirah which stood in a pleasant and healthy situation at a distance of three miles from the site of the present Kūfah, at a place called Najaf. It was called *al-Ḥīratu-l-Baiḍhā'* or "the white" on account of the beauty and elegance of its buildings. The city was destroyed by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in the year 17 of the Hijrah, most of its inhabitants removing to the new city of al-Kūfah. *See* Yāqūt (II, 375), D'Herbelot (II, 245) and Géo. d'Aboulf. (II, 73).

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in Aqūr; *al-Ḥadaṯh*, a town in the district of Qinnasrīn; and *al-Muḥdaṯhah*, a halting-place in the desert of Taimā'. *An-Nabk* and *Al-'Aunīd*, two towns in al-Ḥijāz and two halting-places in the desert of Taimā'. *Az-Zarqā'*, a village on the road to ar-Raiy and a place on the road to Dimashq. *'Akkā*, a town on the coast in the district of al-Urdunn, and *'Akk*, a tribe in al-Yaman. *Al-Yahūdiyyah*, the capital of the district of Iṣfahān and the chief town in Jūzajān. *Al-Anbār*, a town in the district of Baghdād; and *Anbār*, a town in Jūzajān. *Iṣfahān*, a district; *Isfahānak*, a village on the road to Iṣfahān, and *al-Iṣbahānāt*, a town in Fāris. *Madīnah*, the City of the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him;* the *Madīnah*[1] of ar-Raiy; the *Madīnah*[2] of Iṣfahān; *Madīnatu-s-Salām* [Baghdād]; and al-Madā'in [Ctesiphon], in al-'Irāq. *Kūtā Rabbā* and *Kūṭā-ṯ-Ṭarīq* (*Kūtā* of the road), a town and a village in al-'Irāq. *Ad-Daskarah*, in Khūzistān, and the *Daskarah* of al-'Irāq. *Bārāb*, a *rustāq* in Asbījāb; and *Fārayāb*, in Jūzajān. *Aṭ-Ṭālaqān*, a town in the province of ad-Dailam; and the *Ṭālaqān* of Jūzajān. *Abshīn*, the royal city of the Shār,[3] and a town in Ghaznīn. *Harāt* of Khurāsān; and a town of Iṣṭakhr. *Baghlān al-'Ulyā* or the upper, and *Baghlān as-Suflā* or the lower, two towns in Ṭukhāristān. *Asadāwādh*, a town in the province of al-Jibāl and a village in Naisābūr. *Biyār*, a *quasi*-town in Qūmis and a village in Nasā of Khurāsān; and *Wadhār*, a *rustāq* of Samarqand. *Jurjān*, a district in the province of ad-Dailam; and *Jurjāniyyah*, a town in Khuwārizm. *Balkh;* and *Balkhān*, a town beyond Abīward. *Qazwīn*, a town in the district of ar-Raiy; and *Qazwīnak*, a village in ad-Dīnawar. *Filasṭīn* [Palestine] of ash-Shām; and a village in al-'Irāq. 26. 27.

[1] Al-Madīnah or *the town*, in distinction from the suburbs. Several other cities are in this way divided into a *madīnah dākhilah* or inner town, and a *madīnah khārijah* or outer town; thus we have, the *madīnah* of Bukhārā, the *madīnah* of Samarqand, the *madīnah* of Marw, the *madīnah* of Naisābūr and others. Madīnatu-l Mubārak and Madīnat Mūsā are also the names of two towns in the *district* of ar-Raiy, on the outskirts of Qazwīn.

[2] Al-Madīnah, also called Jaiy and Shahrastān; at a distance of two miles from al-Yahūdiyyah, the capital city of Iṣfahān. This side of the town was already in ruins at the time that Yāqūt wrote, see *Mu'jamu-l Buldān*, IV, 452.

[3] The title of the princes of Gharjistān, which some European writers, notably D'Herbelot, confound with *Gurjistān* or Georgia. It is situated within Harāt, Ghūr and Ghaznīn and is marked in Keith Johnston plate 31 Kc.

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Ar-Ramlah, the capital of Filasṭīn, and a village in al-'Irāq; and *Qaryatu-r-Raml*, a town in Khūzistān. *Firabr*, a town on the Jaiḥūn; *Farah*, a town of Sijistān; and *Afrāwah*, the stronghold of Nasā. *Āmul*, a town on the Jaiḥūn and the capital of Ṭabaristān; and *Itil*, the capital of al-Khazar. *Bakrābādh*, a *quasi*-town in Jurjān, and a halting-place in Sijistān. *An-Nīl*, the river of Miṣr; and a town in al-'Irāq. *Jabalah*, a town in Ḥimṣ; and *Jubail*, on the littoral of Dimashq. *Qubā*, a town in Farghānah, a village in Yathrib, and a halting-place in the desert. *Qūmis*, a district in ad-Dailam; and *Qūmisah*, a village in Iṣfahān. *Ash-Shāmāt*,[1] the townships of ash-Shām; a town in Kirmān and a settlement in the suburbs of Naisābūr. *Jurash*, a town in al-Yaman; and *Jabal* (Mount) *Jarash*, in the district of al-Urdunn. *Sanjān*, a town in the province of ar-Riḥāb, another in Marw and a village in Naisābūr; and *Sinjār*, a town in Athūr; and *Zanjān*, a town in the district of ar-Raiy. *Marw ash-Shāhijān* and *Marw ar-Rūdh*. *Suqyā Yazīd*, a town and a halting-place in al-Ḥijāz; and *Suqyā Banī Ghifār*. *Ḥaḍhramaut*, a town in al-Aḥqāf; and a quarter in the town of al-Mauṣil. *Ar-Ruṣāfah*, a quarter of Baghdād and a village in Arrajān. *Nīnawā* [Nineveh], the old and the new, in al-Mauṣil. *'Askar Abī Ja'far*,[2] on the eastern side of Baghdād and a village in al-Baṣrah; *'Askar Mukram*, a district of Khūzistān; *'Askar Banjahīr*, a dependency of Balkh; and *al-'Askar*, a quarter in the city of ar-Ramlah, another in Naisābūr, and a village in Bukhārā. *Ad-Dauraq*, a district, town and village in Khūzistān. *Az-Zubaidiyyah*, a halting-place in the province of al-Jibāl, another in al-Baṭā'iḥ and a water in the desert; and *az-Zabadānī*, a town in the district of Dimashq. *Al-*
28. *Ḥaddādah*, a village in Qūmis; and *al-Ḥaddādiyyah*, a village in al-Baṭā'iḥ. *Naisābūr*, *Sābūr* and *Jundaisābūr*, three large towns

[1] The name of ash-Shāmāt or 'the moles, is said to be given to the townships of Syria on account of the white, red and black tracts of ground that are found there. It seems also probable that the word is derived from the name of the country itself. *See* Géo d'Aboulf., II, p. 2 and *n* 2.

[2] According to Yāqūt (III, 765) 'Askar Abī Ja'far is the same as Madīnatu-l Manṣūr, *i.e.*, the *western* side of the city of Baghdād. The eastern side of the town was called 'Askaru-l Mahdī, for having been the residence of al-Mahdī, son of al-Manṣūr, and the officers of his army during the lifetime of his father. It is very probable that for 'Askar Abī Ja'far we ought to read 'Askaru-l Mahdī, as the name of the eastern side of Baghdād.

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founded by Sābūr.[1] He built besides, in Arrajān, the city of *Balāsābūr* and in Iṣṭakhr, *Arsābūr*. *Kirmān*, a province; *Karmān Shāhān*, a town in the province of al-Jibāl; *Karmīniyah*, a town in Bukhārā and *Bait Karmā*, a village in Īliyā [Jerusalem]. *'Umān*, a district in al-Jazīrah [the Peninsula]; and *'Ammān*, a town in Filasṭīn. *Az-Zāb*, a tract of country in al-Maghrib and a river in Aqūr. *Iskāf*, the upper and the lower, in Baghdād. *Jīlān*, a district in ad-Dailam called by the common people *Gīlān*; and *al-Jīl*, a town in al-'Irāq. *Jazīratu-l 'Arab* [the Peninsula of the Arabs], a province; *Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar*,[2] in Aqūr; *Jazīrat Banī Zaghannāyah* [Algiers] and *Jazīrat Abī Sharīk*, in Ifrīqiyyah; *al-Jazīrah*, a town in al-Fusṭāṭ and *Jazīrat Banī Ḥaddān*,[3] in the sea of al-Qulzum. *Qal'atu-ṣ-Ṣirāṭ*, *Qal'atu-l-Qawārib*, *Qal'at Burjumah*, *Qal'atu-n-Nusūr*, *Qal'at Shamīt*, *Qal'at Ibni-l Ḥarab*, *Qal'at Abī-Thaur* and *Qal'atu-l Ballūṭ*, in al-Maghrib; and *al-Qal'ah*, in ar-Riḥāb; all of which are towns. *Ḥiṣn Mahdī*, a town in al-Ahwāz; *Ḥiṣnu-s-Sūdān*, *Ḥiṣnu-l Barār*, *Ḥiṣn Ibn Ṣāliḥ*, towns in the district of Sijilmāsah; *Ḥiṣn Bulkūnah*, a town in al-Andalus; *Ḥiṣnu-l Khawābī*, in ash-Shām, and *Ḥiṣn Manṣūr* in *ath-Thughūr*.[4] *Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah* and *Qaṣru-l Jaṣṣ*,

[1] Shapur or Sapor I., the son and successor of Ardshīr I., the founder of the dynasty of the Sāsānides, reigned from A.D. 240—273. *See* Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 578 and *n* 1. Elsewhere al-Muqaddasī calls him Sābūr, the son of Fāris; but he evidently intends by *ibn Fāris* that he reigned in Persia.

[2] Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar or 'the island of the son of 'Umar;' it having been founded according to Yāqūt by a chief of the tribe of Taghlib called al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb. Guy Le Strange (J.R.A.S., January 1895, p. 34) understands Yāqūt as saying that this man took a wife from among the women of the country. The words of Yāqūt however mean that a wife and some relations of Ibn 'Umar were still alive in the year 250 H. and dwelling in the Jazīrah. *See* Yaqut II p. 79. This town which is situated on a low sandy island in the Tigris, at about 60 miles below the junction of its E. and W. branches, was known to the Romans as Bezabda, a corruption of the Syriac words Beit-Zabda, as it was in a territory occupied by the tribe of the Zabdeni; *See* Smith's Geo. Dict., I. 400 *a*.

[3] *See* Ibn Ḥauqal, p. 99 *c*.

[4] The frontier towns of Syria were called *ath-Thughūr*, from the plural of the Arabic word *thaghr* which has this signification. These, in the time of Ibn Ḥauqal, were Malaṭyah, al-Ḥadath, Mar'ash, al-Hārūniyyah, al-Kanīsah, 'Ain Zarbah, al-Maṣṣīṣah, Adhanah and Ṭarasūs. Of these *thughūr* some were called *Thughūr ash-Sham* and some *Thughūr al-Jazīrah* or 'the frontier towns

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in al-'Irāq; *Qaṣru-l Fulūs*, a town in the district of Tāhart; *Qaṣru-l Ifrīqī* and *Madīnatu-l Quṣūr*, in Ifrīqiyyah; *Qaṣru-r-Rīḥ*, a
29. halting-place in Naisābūr and *Qaṣru-l-Luṣūṣ*, a halting-place in al-Jibāl. *Tāhart al-'Ulyā* or the upper, a district, and *Tāhart as-Suflā* or the lower, a town in al-Maghrib. *Sūq Ibn Khalaf*, in Ifrīqiyyah, *Sūq Ibn Ḥabluh*, *Sūq Karā*, *Sūq Ibn Mablūl* and *Sūq Ibrāhīm*, towns in the district of Tāhart. There are *Sūqs* (market-towns), called after the days of the week, in Khūzistān; and the towns of Ṭukhāristān are also called *Sūqs* (market-towns). *Al-Aḥsā'*, a district; and also the name of a halting-place in al-Ḥijāz. *Al-Qādisiyyah*, a town in the district of al-Kūfah and a halting-place in Sāmarrā. *Ghazzah*, in Filasṭīn; and *al-Ghuzzah*, in Tāhart. The *Baṭḥā'* of Makkah; and *al-Baṭḥā'*, a town in Tāhart. *Harān*, a village in Iṣfahān and *Wahrān*, a town in Tāhart. *Tabrīz*, in ar-Riḥāb and *Tabrīn*, in Tāhart. *Tāwīlat Abī Mughūl* and another, (also *Tāwīlat*), two towns in Tāhart. *'Ainu-l Mughaṭṭā*, in Iṣqiliyyah [Sicily], *'Ain Zarbah*, in the district of *aṯh-Thughūr* [frontier towns] and *Ra'su-l 'Ain*, in Aṯhūr, towns and villages; *Yanbu'* in al-Ḥijāz, *'Ainūnā*, a town of Wailah, and *Bait 'Ainūn*, a village in Īliyā. *Ṣabrah*, a town in Ifrīqiyyah and another in Barqah. *Marsā-l Kharaz*, *Marsā-l Ḥajjāmīn*, *Marsā-l Ḥajar* and *Marsā-d-Dajāj*, towns in al-Maghrib. *Kharrārah*, a village in Fāris and a
30. town in Tāhart. *Kūl*, towns in Ifrīqiyyah, al-Mashriq and Fāris. *Juwaim Abī Aḥmad* and *Juwaim*, a town and a village in Fāris. *Qusṭanṭīniyyah*; and *Qusanṭīniyah* and *Qasṭīliyah*, towns in al-Maghrib; and *al-Qasṭal*, a village on the borders of ash-Shām. *Ma'arratu-n-Nu'mān* and *Ma'arrat Qinnasrīn*, two towns in ash-Shām. *Al-Lajjūn*, two towns in ash-Shām. The *thaghr* or frontier town of *Ṭarasūs*; and on the coast of ash-Shām, *Anṭarsūs*. *Dāru-l Bilāṭ*, in the metropolis of ar-Rūm; and *Bilāṭ Marwān*, a town in al-Andalus; Īliyā is also called *al-Bilāṭ*. *Wādi-l Qurā*, in

of Mesopotamia,' not however because they geographically belonged to al-Jazīrah, but because the men who were stationed therein to carry on the holy war were of the inhabitants of this province. Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, which took its name from Manṣūr ibn Ja'wanah al-'Āmirī, who was in command of the fortress in the reign of Marwān al-Ḥimār, the last of the Umayyad dynasty, was ruined by the frontier wars between the Greeks and Banū Ḥamdān, who rose to power towards the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah, and made themselves masters of a great part of Syria and Mesopotamia. See Géo. d'Aboulf., II, 45 and J.R.A.S., January 1895, p. 66.

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al-Ḥijāz; and *Wādi-r-Rummān*, in al-Andalus; as also *Wādi-l-Ḥijārah*. *Bāniyās* a town and *Bānās*, a river, in Dimashq; and *Baisān*, a town in the district of al-Urdunn. *Ar-Ruhā.*, a town in Athūr; and *Wādi-r-Ruhā*, a town in Ifrīqiyyah.

Some towns have more than one name; thus, MAKKAH,[1] called also Bakkah. AL-MADĪNAH,[2] named variously Yathrib, Ṭaibah, Ṭābah, Jābirah, Miskīnah, Maḥbūrah, Yandar, ad-Dār and Dāru-l Hijrah. BAITU-L-MAQDIS, Īliyā,[3] al-Quds, al-Bilāṭ. 'UMĀN, Ṣuḥār, Mazūn. 'ADAN, Samarān, aṣ-Ṣarrah, al-Ḥais. AL-BAḤRAIN, Hajar. JŪR, Fīrūzābādh. NASĀ, al-Baiḍhā'. Three capital cities are called *Shahrastān*, namely, Jurjān, Sābūr and Kāth. There are besides some capitals, which, while commonly called by the names of their districts, have also distinct names, such as Bukhārā, Naisābūr and Miṣr.

There are also certain things which are known by different names in different countries; as for example, *laḥḥām*, *jazzār*, *qaṣṣāb*, a butcher; *kursuf*, *'uṭb*, *quṭn*, cotton; *qaṭṭān*, *ḥallāj*, a cleaner or spinner of cotton; *al-bazzāzīn*, *al-karābīsiyyīn*, *ar-rahādinah*, the linen-drapers; *jabbān*, *ṭabbākh*, *baqqāl*, *fāmī*, *tājir*, a vender of provisions; *mīzāb*, *mirzāb*, *mizrāb*, *maṯh'ab*, a conduit; *bāqillā*, *fūl*, beans; *qidr*, *burmah*, a pot; *mauqidah*, *aṯhāfī*, fire- 31.

[1] Other names of Makkah besides those in the text are mentioned in al-Azraqī's history (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 196); namely Umm Ruḥm, Ummu-l Qurā, al-Bāssah, al-Baitu-l-'Atīq and al-Ḥāṭimah. The reader is referred to al-Azraqī's history for an explanation of these names. Bakkah is a name of that part of Makkah where the temple stands; but some give the name to the whole city. The word is mentioned in the Qur'ān (III, 90).

[2] Al-Madīnah or 'the city' *par excellence* rejoices in an abundant supply of names amounting to close upon a hundred. They will be found with their signification in Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 9 *et seq.* *Yathrib*, the Lathrippa of Ptolemy, is the ancient name of this 'City of the Prophet;' and it has been variously called *Ṭaibah* and *Ṭābah*, on account of the fragrance of its soil or its freedom from the stain of unbelief; *Jābirah*, as the staff of Faith; *Miskīnah*, 'the poor,' for the loss of the Prophet; *Maḥbūrah*, 'the happy'; *ad-Dār*,' 'the abode' (Qur'ān, LIX, 9), and *Dāru-l Hijrah*, as the place to which Muḥammad fled.

[3] From the pagan name of Jerusalem 'Colonia Aelia Capitolina.' According to Ka'bu-l Aḥbār (see *Kitābu-l Buldān*, p. 96), Īliyā is the name of a woman who built the city. It is now commonly known to the natives of the country by the name of al-Quds, 'the Holy (city),' a modern representative of its most ancient name Kadeshah, or Cadytis. (Smith, art. Jerusalem).

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hearth; *zinbīl, miktal, quffah*, a basket; *sifl, mirkan, ijjānah, taghār*, a basin; *qinṭār, buhār*, a hundred weight; *mann, raṭl*, a pound weight; *ḥabbah, ṭassūj*, a grain weight; *khādim, qayyim, mufarrik, ballān*, a bath-attendant; *shamshak, ṣandal*, a sandal; *ḥiṣn, qal'ah, quhandiz, kalāt*, a fortress; *ṣāḥib rab'*, *ṣāḥib maṣlaḥah ṣāḥib maslaḥah, ṣāḥibu-ṭ-ṭarīq, 'ashshār, makkās, marṣadī*, a collector of taxes; *mukhāṣim, khaṣīm*, a party to a law-suit; *ḥākim, qāḍhī*, a judge; *wakīl, jarī*, advocate; *shairaj, saliṭ*, oil of sesame; *zajjāj, qawārīrī*, a glass-manufacturer; *ṣaf', ṣakk*, striking on the neck; *buq'ah, mauḍhi'*, a place; *qiṭṭah, sinnaur, dimmah, hirrah*, a cat; *mu'allim, khādim, ustādh, shaikh, khaṣī*, a eunuch; *dabbāgh, ṣarrām, adamī, sikhtiyānī, julūdī*, a tanner; *fā'il, rūzkārī*, a labourer; *qaryātī, rustāqī, sawādī*, a country-man; *zarrā', fallāh, ḥarrāth*, husbandman; *funduq, khān, tīm, dāru-t-tujjār*, an inn; *mirzabah, aklah*, an iron-shod staff; *ḥabl, qals*, a rope; *watid, kanūrā*, a stake; *haddanahā, karkarahā*, he dispersed them (*a company of men, etc.*); *liṣṣ, mashūshā*, thief, robber; *juniḥat, wuliḥat*, it (a camel) was overloaded; *inqaḍhḍha, zawira*, it (a wall) was ready to fall; *qif, halā*, Hola! *hayārā, jamā'ah*, a company of men; *lakīshā, kathīr*, much; *zarnūq, dūlāb, ḥannānah*, a water-wheel; *dāliyah, karmah*, a vine; *mishāt, mijrafah*, a spade; *mi'wal, fa's*, a hatchet; *ṣā'idan, ziqāfan*, up the river; *munḥadiran, shibālan*, down the river; *ṭārūs, shartah*, a favourable wind; *sukkān, rijl*, a rudder; *rubbān, ra's*, captain of a ship; *mallāḥ, nūtī*, a sailor; *sāḥil, shaṭṭ*, a shore; *ruq'ah, biṭāqah*, a letter; *rauḥah, nafasah*, a gentle gale, breeze; *safīnah, jāsūs, zauraq, raftah* (*?*), *talawwā, 'irdās, ṭayyār, zabzab, kārawāniyyah, muthallathah, Wāsiṭiyyah, malqūṭah, shankūliyyah, burākiyyah,*
32. *khaiṭiyyah, shamūṭ, musabbaḥiyyah, jabaliyyah, Makkiyyah, zabarbādhiyyah, barkah, sūqiyyah, ma'bar, walajiyyah, ṭairah, bar'ānī, shabūq, markab, shadhā, burmah, qārib, dūnij, ḥamāmah, shīnī, shalandī, bīrajah*, different kinds of boats. Examples like these are numerous; and were we to take note of all of them, the book would exceed all reasonable limits. In each province, I shall speak in the peculiar dialect of the inhabitants, argue on the same lines as they, and quote some of their proverbs, that their language and the characteristic methods of their doctors of law may become generally known. When out of the provinces, as in these chapters for instance, the language I have used is that of ash-Shām, as this is the country in which I was born

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and bred; and the method I followed in disputation is that of al-Qāḍhī Abu-l Ḥusain al-Qazwīnī, for he was the first Imām whose lectures I attended. Hence the elegance of our diction in the province of al-Mashriq, where Arabic, from the fact that it is there learned and acquired by arduous study, is much more correct than elsewhere. Hence also the weakness of our language in Miṣr and al-Maghrib and its utter viciousness in the region of the marshes (al-Baṭā'iḥ), for that is the language of the people. In fact, our object here has not been competition and rivalry in style, but simply the imparting and communication of knowledge. Know further that all uncertain questions pertaining to this science have been decided in accordance with common conventional usage and the law of expediency,[1] exactly as the doctors of law have done in the chapters on the *Mukātib*[2] (covenanted slave) and Oaths.[3] I have followed, in the arrangement of the work, the methods adopted by the people of al-'Irāq, made familiar to me both by study and choice; and have allowed myself a due exercise of reason[4] in suitable places. And God is the author of all success.

Distinctive Features of the different provinces.

The fairest of the provinces is al-'Irāq. Its climate is the most cheering to the heart and invigorating to the mind. With adequate means, nowhere will the heart be so glad and the intellect so subtle as in this province. The province which is the greatest and which produces the finest fruits, and contains the greatest number of learned men and notable persons and has the coldest climate, is al-Mashriq. The province which produces the greatest quantity of wool and silk and considering its size, yields the largest revenue, is ad-Dailam. That which has the best milk and honey, 33.

1 For an explanation of the term *Istiḥsān* which literally means 'approving' see *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāti-l Funūn*, p. 390. It is synonymous with *al-Qiyāsu-l Khafī*, (*Ibid*, p. 1196).

2 *See* Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, Vol. III, 376 *et seq.*

3 *See* Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, Vol. I, 491 *et seq.*

4 *Al-Qiyās* in its technical sense signifies 'the analogical reasoning of the learned with regard to the teaching of the Qur'ān, al-Ḥadīth and al-Ijmā'.' (Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*). For a full explanation of the term see *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāti-l Funūn* (p. 1193), where it is called *al-Qiyāsu-sh-Shar'ī* or 'the legal Qiyās.'

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the nicest bread, and the strongest saffron, is al-Jibāl. The province which most abounds in fruits and in animal food, and is the cheapest in prices, with the dullest inhabitants, is the province of ar-Riḥāb. That which is peopled by men the most degraded and the worst, root and branch, is Khūzistān. The province which has the sweetest dates and the most cringing people, is Kirmān. That which most abounds in sugar-candy, rice, musk and infidels, is as-Sind. The province with the most ingenious people and merchants and the greatest amount of profligacy, is Fāris. The hottest and the most famine-stricken and which has the largest quantity of date-palms, is the Peninsula of the Arabs. The province most favoured with blessings, pious men, ascetics and shrines, is that of ash-Shām. The province where there are more devotees, Readers [of the Qur'ān], riches, commerce, special products and grain, is Miṣr. The province with the most dangerous roads, the best horses, and the most noble people, is Aqūr. Lastly the province with the most boorish, the heaviest and the most deceitful people, and which contains the largest number of towns and has the most extensive area, is al-Maghrib.

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, the brother's son of al-Aṣma'i,[1] narrates:—I called upon al-Jāḥiḍh and requested him to give me some useful information on cities in general. He said 'Well, there are ten cities in each of which certain things are remarkable:—humanity in Baghdād, eloquence in al-Kūfah, manufacture at al-Baṣrah, commerce in Miṣr, treachery in ar-Raiy, boorishness in Naisābūr, stinginess in Marw, arrogance in Balkh, and craftsmanship in Samarqand.' By my life he has rightly spoken, but there are skilful workmen in Naisābūr as well; and divers commercial products in al-Baṣrah; eloquence in Makkah, and crafty men in Marw. Furthermore, Ṣan'ā' possesses a pleasant climate; Baitu-l Maqdis is well-built; Ṣughar and Jurjān are homes of pestilence; Dimashq has numerous streams; Ṣughd, extensive orchards; ar-Ramlah, delicious fruits, and Ṭabaristān, perpetual rains. Farghānah is cheap in prices; al-Marwah and al-Juḥfah, the native country of libertines; ar-Raqqah, a place of dangers; Hamadhān and Tinnīs, the abode of men of worth; ash-Shām, the country of righteous men; Samarqand, the gathering-place of merchants;
34. and Naisābūr, the city of the great. Al-Fusṭāṭ is the most

1 The celebrated philologist and grammarian (123–216 H.; 740–831 A.D).

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populous of cities; and blessed are the people of al-Ghaṛj [1] in the justice of the Shār. Iṣfahān is famous for its climate, its elegant robes and its earthenware. The customs of Shīrāz are a disgrace on Islām. 'Adan is the vestibule [2] of aṣ-Ṣīn; so also is Ṣuḥār. Green herbage, fruits and birds abound in aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān; and were it not for its water and frequent fires, Bukhārā would have been a splendid city. Balkh is a repository of jurisprudence, with spacious bounds and opulence. Īliyā is good for those who seek both religion and the advantages of this world. The inhabitants of Baghdād are short-lived; while, Ṣan'ā' and Naisābūr are the reverse of Baghdād in this respect. Nowhere are the public preachers more numerous and more degraded than in Naisābūr; nor are there any people more covetous than the people of Makkah, or poorer than the inhabitants of Yathrib; nor are there so virtuous as the people of Baitu-l-Maqdis; nor so well-mannered as the people of Harāt and Biyār; nor so intelligent as the inhabitants of ar-Raiy; nor so talented as the people of Sijistān. The people of 'Umān are notorious above all others for dealing out short measures; and there are not any more ignorant than the people of 'Ammān. No people have more correct weights than the inhabitants of al-Kūfah and 'Askar Mukram; nor are there more good-looking than the people of Ḥimṣ and Bukhārā, or uglier than the people of Khuwārizm; and no people have more magnificent beards than ad-Dailam; or are more addicted to wine than the people of Ba'albakk and Miṣr; nor are there more lewd than the people of Sīrāf; nor more rebellious than the people of Sijistān and Dimashq; nor more riotous than the people of Samarqand and ash-Shāsh; nor more submissive than the people of Miṣr; nor more idiotic than the people of al-Baḥrain; nor more foolish than the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ; nor more clever than the people of Fasā and Nābulus, then of ar-Raiy—all being next to Baghdād in this respect. No dialect is more elegant than that of the people of Baghdād: none more vicious than that of the people of Ṣaidā and Harāt; none more correct than that of Khurāsān. None speak a more beautiful Persian than the people of Balkh and ash-Shāsh; while, nothing can be more corrupt than the language of the

[1] Same as Gharjistān, a tract of country between Harāt, Ghūr and Ghaznīn. Its rulers were called by the title of 'ash-Shār;' see p. 41 note 3.

[2] As the chief port on the Arabian side of the Indian Ocean and an emporium for the produce of India and China.

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people of al-Baṭā'iḥ. The people of Ḥaiṭal are the most straightforward, and those of Ġharju-sh-Shār [1] the most benevolent of all.

Now if a person should ask 'Which town is the best?' Such a question demands some consideration. If he be of those who seek
35. the advantages of both worlds, he should be told Baitu-l-Maqdis; and if he be pure in intention, and free from ambition, Makkah [2] must be named. If, on the other hand, he should be of those who seek after riches and worldly possessions, and cheapness and fruits, he should be told, 'Any town that suffices thee. Otherwise, choose between five cities, Dimashq, al-Baṣrah, ar-Raiy, Bukhārā and Balkh; or between five towns, Qaisāriyyah, Bā'ainātha, Khujandah, ad-Dinawar and Nūqān; or between five tracts of country, aṣ-Ṣughd, aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān, Nahāwand, Jazīrat-Ibn-'Umar and Sābūr. Make choice of any of these; they are the delightful places of Islām.' As for al-Andalus, it is, according to all accounts, a country simply made up of gardens. The celebrated gardens of the world, however, are four:—the *Ghūṭah* (campaign) of Dimashq, the river of al-Ubullah, the pleasant plain of aṣ-Ṣughd and the *Shi'b* (valley) of Bawwān. To persons in pursuit of commerce, 'Adan should be recommended; then 'Umān and then Miṣr. Whatever we may mention as faults imputable to the inhabitants of the different countries, men of science and learning are to be exempted from them, especially doctors of law, as I have known them to possess much worth and excellence. Know further that every town in the name of which there is the letter *ṣād*, is noted for the folly of its inhabitants, with the exception of al-Baṣrah. If two *ṣāds* come together in a word, as in al-Maṣṣīṣah
36. and Ṣarṣar,—God preserve us from so great an evil! If, in the name derived from any town to designate a person born there, the letter *zāy* precedes the *yā* of relation, the person so called will possess the characteristic of cunning; such as Rāzī, Marwazī and

[1] Al-Gharj, *the country of* ash-Shār.

[2] A marginal note to B contains the following: The two statements of the author, namely, that to a person without ambition Makkah is the place to be recommended and again that no people are more covetous than the inhabitants of Makkah (p. 49, l. 13), do not necessarily involve contradiction. For what he says here is transcribed from the writings of others, while his former statement represents his own opinion. The true statement is no doubt that which he has copied, for what he said before seems very like falsehood; nay, it can be nothing but falsehood itself. It may however be said that opinions are changeable with times, individuals, dispositions and judgments.

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Sijizī.[1] All towns ending in *ān*, have some particular excellence or good quality; such as Jurjān, Mūqān and Arrajān. In extremely cold countries the inhabitants grow more fat and stout, and have handsomer faces and thicker beards; such as Farghānah, Khuwārizm and Armīniyyah. In towns situated on the sea-coast or the banks of a river, adultery and sodomy prevail in an excessive degree; for example, Sīrāf, Bukhārā and 'Adan. Towns that are surrounded by an abundance of streams, have their inhabitants characterized by turbulence and riotousness; such as Dimashq, Samarqand and aṣ-Ṣaliq. All towns of wide extent and of great natural advantages present great difficulties in the way of obtaining livelihood, excepting Balkh. Know further that Baghdād was once a magnificent city, but is now fast falling to ruin and decay, and has lost all its splendour. I did not find it a pleasant place, nor an attractive city; and any eulogy of mine regarding it is merely conventional. The Fusṭāṭ of Miṣr in the present day is like the Baghdād of old; I know of no city in Islām superior to it. As to the province of al-Mashriq, it has, in consequence of the growth of despotism in those parts, declined from its former state; still it is better than the rest. The Persian provinces do not agree with those who live in the lowlands; and if it only had a stream of running water, ar-Ramlah would have been, without exception, the most pleasant town in Islām. It is a lovely and delightful place, situated in the midst of a holy land and strong fortresses and between a tract of low ground and the sea, with a temperate climate, delicious fruits and well-bred, though somewhat ill-educated inhabitants. It is the store-house of Miṣr and the emporium of the two seas and is a town blessed with great abundance.

The Sects of Islām and adh-Dhimmah.[2] 37.

The recognized sects[3] at the present day in the countries of

[1] Nomina Relativa from ar-Raiy, Marw and Sijistān.

[2] The non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim Government are called *Ahlu-dh-Dhimmah*, or simply *adh-Dhimmah*; because, for the payment of a poll-tax to the Muslims, the latter bind themselves by a *compact* or *covenant* (*dhimmah*) to give them security, personal freedom and religious toleration. Ahlu-dh-Dhimmah are particularly the Kitābīs, or the possessors of revealed Books, *i.e.*, Jews and Christians, and the Majūs or Sabeans. (See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, articles *Ẓimmah* and *Ẓimmī*.

[3] For an exposition of the principal sects of Islām the reader is referred to Pocock's '*Specimen Historiæ Arabum*' and to Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*.

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Islām, possessing private and public halls of assembly and lecture-rooms, missionaries, and corporate bodies of members, are twenty-eight. Of these, four deal with jurisprudence,[1] four with scholastic theology,[2] four with the correlation between these two, four have fallen into obscurity, four belong to tradition, four have been absorbed into other four, while four exist only in rural districts. The jurisprudential sects are al-Ḥanafiyyah,[3] al-Mālikiyyah,[4] ash-Shaf'awiyyah[5] and ad-Dā'ūdiyyah.[6] The theological sects are al-Mu'tazilah,[7] an-Najjāriyyah,[8] al-Kullābiyyah[9] and as-Sālimiyyah.[10] Those who have both *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *kalām* (theology) are ash-Shī'ah,[11] al-Khawārij,[12] al-Karrāmiyyah[13] and al-Bāṭiniyyah.[14] The traditional sects are

[1] For the definition of the word '*Fiqh*,' see Pocock, p. 203.

[2] *Al-Kalām*, Pocock, p. 199 *et seq.*

[3] Abū Ḥanīfah an-Nu'mān ibn Thābit (80–150 H). Pocock, p. 291. Sale, p. 110. Hughes, p. 7. Ash-Shahrastānī (*Al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal*), p. 161.

[4] Mālik ibn Anas (94–179 H). Pocock, p. 288. Sale, p. 111. Hughes, p. 312. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 160.

[5] Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī (150–204 H). Pocock, p. 289. Sale, p. 111. Hughes, p. 570. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 160.

[6] Dā'ūd al-Iṣfahānī (202–270 H.). Pocock, p. 293. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 160. An-Nawawī (*Tahdhību-l-Asmā'*), p. 236.

[7] *i.e.* "The Separatists." Pocock, p. 214. Sale, p. 112. Hughes, p. 425. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 29.

[8] Al-Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad an-Najjār. Pocock, p. 244. Sale, p. 122. Hughes, p. 428. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 61.

[9] 'Abdu-llah ibn Sa'īd ibn Kullāb at-Tamīmī, a native of al-Baṣrah; died subseqnent to the year 240 of the Hijrah. *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, Vol. I, 462. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 65. In the glossary, de Goeje calls him Muḥammad ibn Kullāb. He is called Abū 'Abdu-llah in the *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn* of the celebrated 'Abdu-l-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Part I, p. 83; perhaps his real name is Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Kullābī.

[10] Followers of Ibn Sālim who was, according to al-Muqaddasī, a slave of Sahl ibn 'Abdu-llah at-Tustarī (*see* De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, I, 602). For the doctrines of as-Sālimiyyah, see *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, Part I, p. 83.

[11] Pocock p. 257. Sale, p. 124. Hughes, p. 572. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 108.

[12] "The Revolters." Pocock p. 264. Sale, p. 123. Hughes, p. 270. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 85.

[13] Muḥammad ibn Karrām (ob. 255 H), see *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, Vol. IX, 48. Pocock, p. 227. Sale, p. 121. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 79. The Karrāmiyyah are also known as *al-Mushabbihah*, Hughes, p. 423.

[14] Al-Bāṭiniyyah were so called on account of their *esoteric* doctrines which were based on allegorical interpretations of the Qur'ān. So long as this sect

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al-Ḥanbaliyyah,[1] ar-Rāhwiyyah,[2] al-Auzā'iyyah[3] and al-Mundhiriyyah.[4] Those fallen into obscurity are al-'Aṭā'iyyah,[5] ath-Thauriyyah,[6] al-Ibāḍhiyyah[7] and aṭ-Ṭāqiyyah.[8] Those confined to rural districts are az-Za'farāniyyah,[9] al-Khurramdīniyyah,[10] al-Abyaḍhiyyah[11] and as-Sarakhsiyyah;[12] and those

remained alive, they proved themselves the greatest enemies of Islām. Their history is written in the bloody deeds of the Ismā'īlians and their branch sects, the Qarāmiṭah and the Assassins. The destruction of their power may be dated from the time of the Mughul invasion. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 147. *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāti-l-Funūn, s.v. as-Sab'iyyah*, p. 669.

[1] Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (164–241 H). Pocock, p. 291. Sale, p. 111. Hughes, p. 188. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 160.

[2] Isḥāq ibn Rāhwaih (161–238 H). De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I, 180.

[3] 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr ibn Yuḥmid al-Auzā'ī (88–157 H). An-Nawawī, p. 382. De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II. 84.

[4] Abū Bakr Ibnu-l-Mundhir an-Naisābūrī (ob. 309 or 310 H). An-Nawawī, p. 675. De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, 612.

[5] Probably called after 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (ob. 115 H). An-Nawawī, p. 422. De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, 203.

[6] Sufyān ath-Thaurī (95–161 H). An-Nawawī, p. 286. De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, I, 576.

[7] 'Abdu-llah ibn Ibāḍh at-Tamīmī, who appeared in the caliphate of Marwān al-Ḥimār, the last of the Umayyad Khalīfahs. The Ibāḍhiyyah, who were a sect of the Khawārij, held that 'Alī and most of the companions were infidels. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 100. *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, Vol. V, 2.

[8] In the place of aṭ-Ṭāqiyyah C has al-Abū-Thauriyyah, the disciples of Abū Thaur Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid al-Kalbī al-Baghdādī, who died in 240 H. It is probable therefore that this sect were called aṭ-Ṭāqiyyah from Bābu-ṭ-Ṭāq, a quarter of Baghdād. See glossary, p. 292.

[9] A branch of the heretical sect of *an-Najjāriyyah*. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 61. Hughes, p. 698.

[10] "The followers of the merry religion." They were also called *al-Bābakiyyah* after their chief, Bābak al-Khurramī, who first appeared in 201 H. This is one of several names by which the Ismā'īlians or *al-Bāṭiniyyah* are designated. *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāti-l-Funūn*, p. 670. Sale, p. 130.

[11] Al-Abyaḍhiyyah, who are also known as *al-Mubayyiḍhah* and *Bīḍhu-th-Thiyāb*, were so called because they wore white garments in contradistinction to *al-Musawwidah*, the partisans of the 'Abbāsides whose banners and habits were black. They were the followers of al-Muqanna' who appeared in the reign of al-Mahdī, and whose doctrines were similar to those of the *Thanawiyyah* who assert the doctrine of the two principles. Sale, p. 129. Lane's Arabic Dictionary, sub بيض.

[12] The followers of 'Abdu-llah as-Sarakhsī, who are chiefly found in the rural districts of Transoxiana. Al-Muqaddasī credits them with a love of asceticism and devotional practices.

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absorbed into others analogous to them are as follows:—al-Kullābiyyah into al-Ash'ariyyah,[1] al-Qarmaṭiyyah[2] into al-Bāṭiniyyah, al-Qadariyyah[3] into al-Mu'tazilah, az-Zaidiyyah[4] into the Shī'ah and an-Najjāriyyah into al-Jahmiyyah.[5] This is the full number of the sects now extant; they in their turn subdivide into innumerable denominations.

The sects already specified are called by various names and designations which repeat themselves and do not exceed the number we have given. This is known to the learned alone. Four of them have nick-names; four are praised; four are blamed; four are differently understood; four are given as names of reproach to the traditional sects; four are precisely identical in meaning; and four can be distinguished by experts only. The nick-named sects are ar-Rawāfiḍh[6] (Rejecters), al-Mujbarah[7]

[1] Abu-l Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī (born in al-Baṣrah A. H. 270, died at Baghdād between A.H. 330 and 340). Pocock, p 232. Sale, p. 117. Hughes, p. 24. De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, Vol. II, 227. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 65.

[2] Sale, p. 130. D'Herbelot, *art.* Carmath. De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Vol. II, 97.

[3] The deniers of absolute predestination, and assertors of Free Will. Pocock, p. 233. Sale, p. 115. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 29.

[4] The followers of Zaid ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain, who differed from the body of the Shī'ah in looking upon the Imāmate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar as rightful. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 115.

[5] Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, towards the end of the reign of the House of Umayyah. Ash-Shahrastanī, p. 60. Pocock, p. 244. *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, I, 83. Hughes, p. 568. There is evidently some confusion in the latter part of this paragraph.

[6] The first who were called by this name were the Shī'ah inhabitants of al-Kūfah, who repudiated Zaid ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain for his acceptance of the Imāmate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar as rightful. It was afterwards used by the Sunnīs for any sect of Shī'ahs. Hughes in his article on the *Rāfiẓīs* (p. 532) is slightly at fault as regards the rise and overthrow of Zaid. The person who took the field against Zaid was not al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, but Yūsuf ibn 'Umar, a cousin of al-Ḥajjāj. (De Slane's Ibn Khal., IV, 435); and he was *not* general of the Imām Ja'far's army (?), but the governor of al-Kūfah on the part of Hishām ibn Abdu-l-Malik, of the House of Umayyah. The history of these events may be read in *al-Kāmil* of Ibnu-l Athīr, V, 181 and Ahlwardt's *Elfachri*, p. 156.

[7] This is the name which the Qadariyyah, or 'Assertors of Free Will,' give to the *Ahlu-s-Sunnah wa-l-Jamā'ah*, the orthodox sects of Islām. They call

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(Deniers of Free Will), al-Murji'ah [1] (Procrastinators) and ash-Shukkāk [2] (Doubters). The approved sects are:—Ahlu-s-Sunnah wa-l-Jamā'ah [3] (the followers of traditional law and corporate authority), Ahlu-l-'Adl wa-t-Tauḥīd [4] (the followers of the doctrine of the justice and unity of God), al-Mu'minūn (the believing) and Aṣḥābu-l-Hudā (the rightly guided). The blamed ones are:—al-Kullābiyyah, condemned for the doctrine of compulsion [5] in human actions; al-Ḥanbaliyyah, censured for their hatred [6] (of 'Alī); the Muthbitu-ṣ-Ṣifāt [7] (Attributists), condemned for representing God as similar to man, and the Munfu-ṣ-Ṣifāt [8] (Deniers of attributes), blamed for rejecting all eternal attributes of God. Those differently understood are, Firstly, *al-Jabr* (compulsion), which according to al-Karrāmiyyah is to make capacity

them by this name for holding to the doctrine of compulsion or predestination, according to which man can only act by the will and through the power of God. *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, I, 75.

1 Pocock, p. 252. Sale, p. 122. Hughes, p. 421. Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 103.

2 According to *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn* (l. 75) this is a name given by the Murji'ah to the orthodox sects on account of their qualifying their expression of faith, for no true believer can say I believe without adding 'if God, Most High, will.' (*Ibid*, I. 56).

3 "*Qui traditioni et consensui innituntur.*" Pocock, p. 213. This is a title which the would-be orthodox sects have arrogated to themselves, in distinction from the rest of the Muslims. It is now generally applied to them under the form *Sunnīs* even by their opponents, the Shī'ah, who however look upon it rather as a title of abuse. *See* Hughes, *art.* Sunnī, p. 623.

4 "*Æquitatis et Unitatis* [Dei] *propugnatores.*" Pocock, p. 216.

5 *Al-Jabr.* See Pocock, p. 239.

6 *An-Naṣb.* In both the *Qāmūs* and *Lisānu-l-'Arab*, an-Nawāṣib are said to be a sect who made it a matter of religious obligation to bear a violent hatred to 'Alī (Lane, snb نصب). The author of *Tāju-l-'Arūs* thinks that they were a sect of the Khawārij. But it appears almost certain that the Ḥanābilah were also called by this term and for the same reason (Cf. *al-Kāmil* of Ibnu-l Athīr, VIII, p 230 lines 15 and 16). According to *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, however, the word *Nāṣibiyyah* is applied to the traditional sects by their opponents, the Shī'ah, because they say that the Imām ought to be *appointed* by election, rather than succeed by hereditary right.

7 The Ṣifātiyyah or 'Attributists.' Pocock, p. 225. Sale, p. 116. Hughes, p. 582, Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 64.

8 The deniers of the eternal attributes of God are the Mu'tazilah, who are therefore called *Mu'aṭṭilah*; *see* Pocock, p. 217. Sale, p. 113. The orthodox Muslims follow the doctrine of al-Ash'ariyyah (Sale, p. 117) as regards the eternal attributes of God.

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of action co-incident with the performance of the act,[1] and according to al-Mu'tazilah, the belief that evil is fore-ordained by
38. God, and that the actions of men are created by God.[2] Secondly, *al-Murji'ah*, who according to the Tradition sects are those who consider works to be inferior in degree to faith,[3] and according to al-Karrāmiyyah, those who deny the necessity of works;[4] according to al-Ma'mūniyyah,[5] they are those who are undecided in respect of faith,[6] and with the Theologists, those who are undecided as to the future state of persons committing grievous sins, and do not admit an intermediate state.[7] Thirdly, the *Shukkāk* (doubters), who according to the Theologists are those

[1] Some are of opinion that God has created in man a power by which he may act whenever he has the will. This power in man accordingly exists before the inception of the act; others, however, think that God creates this power at the time the will to act is felt so that the power comes into being coincidently with the act and does not exist before it. *See* also Pocock, p. 244.

[2] Hence they call the orthodox sects who follow this doctrine *Jabariyyah* (compulsionists). These however do not affirm that evil happens with the approval of God, but that He decrees it and suffers it to exist. Pocock, p. 235.

[3] See Pocock, p. 252. Sale, p. 123.

[4] The Murji'ah assert that disobedience does not injure the believer, nor does obedience profit the infidel; they teach therefore that works are not necessary for salvation. Pocock, p. 253. Sale, p. 123.

[5] There is a sect of the Khawārij known as *al-Maimūniyyah*, the followers of a certain Maimūn ibn Khālid who taught that God wills what is good only and not that which is evil; and that sins happen without the will of God. They legalize marriage with the daughters of one's daughters and the daughters of one's brothers and sisters; and they consider it the duty of the people to put to death any ruler who acts in defiance of the law and all who acquiesce in his rule. No trace can be found of a sect called *al-Ma'mūniyyah*, although one of the hundred and fifty sects of Islām may have been so named.

[6] The chief point of difference between doctors as regards *Īmān* or faith, is whether works constitute a part of it or not. According to the former view, faith without works will not save; while according to the latter opinion works are not necessary for salvation. But, with the exception of al-Mu'tazilah, the doctors of Islām concur in saying that all believers will be saved at last. The Mu'tazilah, on the other hand, say that a sinner dying without repentance will remain in hell for ever but that his condition will be better than that of infidels.

[7] See Pocock, p. 256.

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who hesitate respecting the Qur'ān[1] and according to al-Karrāmiyyah, those who qualify their expression of faith.[2] Fourthly, *ar-Rawāfiḍh* (rejecters), who according to the Shī'ah are those who postpone the *Khilāfah* of 'Alī[3] and with all others those who deny the *Khilāfah* of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The four sects that are precisely the same in meaning are az-Za'farāniyyah, al-Wāqifiyyah,[4] ash-Shukkāk and ar-Rustāqiyyah. The four given as names of reproach to the traditional sects are:—al-Ḥashwiyyah[5] (those given to things of little importance), ash-Shukkāk, an-Nawāṣib (the enemies) and al-Mujbarah (deniers of Free Will in man). Those distinguished by experts alone are:—the Tradition sects who are not easily distinguished from ash-Shaf'awiyyah, ath-Thauriyyah from al-Ḥanafiyyah, an-Najjāriyyah from al-Jahmiyyah and al-Qadariyyah from al-Mu'tazilah.

The sects of the Muslims have all branched off from four original divisions, the Shī'ah, the Khawārij, the Murji'ah and the Mu'tazilah. The first cause of dissension was the murder of

[1] Whether it is created or not. See Pocock, p. 222 *et seq.* Hughes, p. 484.

[2] As already said Muslims are not certain if they are truly believers in God; everyone must say 'I am a believer, if God will!'

[3] Assigning him to the fourth grade, instead of the first. Pocock, p. 253.

[4] A branch of the Mūsawiyyah, who consider Mūsā al-Kāḍhim, the son of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, as the seventh Imām. Mūsā died in the prison of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, by foul means as some say; his death, however, was a matter of dispute among his followers; for some denied that he was dead and believed that he would appear again; they were therefore called *Wāqifiyyah*, from the root *waqafa*, 'to halt' 'to stop,' for they consider al-Kāḍhim to be the last Imām and do not proceed beyond him. (Ash-Shahrastānī, p. 127). These, the editor appears to think (Gloss. p. 378) are the Wāqifiyyah of the text; but the Ismā'īliyyah, too, are called *Wāqifiyyah* and they certainly are the sect intended by the author, for he mentions above, as sects found in rural districts, both the Khurramdīniyyah and the Abyaḍhiyyah who are nothing but branch-sects of the Ismā'īliyyah.

[5] For this and the following three names see *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn* (I, 75). According to this work they are names given to the orthodox sects by their enemies; thus, the Bāṭiniyyah call them *Ḥashwiyyah*, for giving weight and adhering to the traditions, which the Bāṭiniyyah look upon as of no importance whatever. The Murji'ah call the orthodox sects *Shukkāk*, for qualifying their expression of Faith, as already stated. The Rāfiḍhah or Shī'ah call them *Nāṣibiyyah* or *Nawāṣib*, for their doctrine concerning Imāmate by election, and the Qadariyyah call them *Mujbarah* for their belief in predestination.

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'Uthman.[1] They subsequently divided and will continue in a state of separation till the advent of al-Mahdī.[2] *Irjā'*[3] in the above instance consists in the doubt as to the future state of

[1] On the death of 'Uthmān, the Khalīfate was offered to 'Alī who refused it at first but accepted it on pressure being brought to bear upon him. Mu'āwiyah, however, who was then governor of Syria and had his own ambitious views would not acknowledge 'Alī as Khalīfah, and encouraged by the opposition of 'Ā'ishah, the favourite wife of Muḥammad, and two of the most distinguished of the companions, Ṭalḥah and az-Zubair, to 'Alī, went even to the extremity of declaring war against him under the pretext of avenging the blood of 'Uthmān whose murderers were now in the army of 'Alī. He was worsted in the fight and but for the clever trick of hoisting up copies of the Qur'ān upon the points of his party's spears and thus appealing to the religious feelings of 'Alī's men, he would have suffered a most complete defeat and probably lost everything. This device was not lost upon 'Alī, but he was compelled to accept a compromise by the stubbornness of his own party who even threatened him with the fate of 'Uthmān if he refused to answer the appeal of his enemies and decide all differences according to the Book, as they wished. These very men afterwards rose against 'Alī and broke into open rebellion for taking the course they themselves had forced him to. They were therefore called *Khawārij* or 'revolters' for having risen against the lawful authority of the Imām to whom they had sworn fealty. Thus the murder of 'Uthmān was the indirect cause of the schism between the Shī'ah of 'Alī and the Khawārij. These Khawārij were *Murji'ah* in their doctrines; that is, they held that those who commit a grievous sin are to be considered as infidels, while the body of Muslims asserted they ought to be considered as believers, though swerving from the way of righteousness by their sins. The strife was ripe between the upholders of the opposite views when Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' stepped in and said that a sinner is neither a believer nor an infidel, but holds a medium station. Wāṣil and those who sided with him were afterwards called *Mu'tazilah*, for having *separated* from the body of the orthodox Muslims. Hughes, remarking upon the death of 'Uthmān, says (*Dict. of Islam*, p. 656), "Worldly motives entered largely into the politics of Uthmān and 'Alī, as contrasted with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. 'Uthmān, by his weakness and nepotism, 'Alī by holding aloof with culpable indifference, during the protracted death-struggle of his predecessor, by abetting his murderers in the open field, and by his vacillating spirit, where firmness of purpose was needed, gave rise to those fierce dissensions between rival religious and political parties, which led, for the time being, to the establishment of the Umayyah dynasty, and eventually caused the division of Islām into the great sects of the Sunnīs and Shī'ahs."

[2] The ruler who shall in the last days appear upon the earth. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 305.

[3] There is a difference of opinion as to the reason of al-Murji'ah being

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persons committing grievous sins, entertained alike by the *Ahlu-r-Rāy* (reasoners) and the *Ahlu-l-Ḥadīth* [1] (traditionists). The Mu'tazilah assert that every *Mujtahid* [2] is right in legal questions; they support their assertion by the fact that at the time of the Prophet—*peace and blessing be upon him*—when a party of men could not discover the true position of the *Qiblah* and turned in prayer towards different directions, he did not order those who were in the wrong to say their prayers again, but placed them on the same level with those who were in the right. I am well-pleased with this saying of theirs, for the companions of the Prophet have actually differed on certain points, and yet the Prophet declared their difference to be an exercise of loving kindness, and said 'Whether ye follow one or the other of them, ye shall still be

called by this name, because of the different significations of the word *Irjā'*, each of which the learned accommodate to some opinion of the sect. (Sale, p. 123). As the opponents of the Mu'tazilah who treat all grievous sinners as deserters of the faith, the Murji'ah derive their name from *Irjā'* as meaning 'giving hope' for they maintain that transgressions will not injure the believers and that should they not pray nor fast, still their faith will save them.

[1] The followers of Mālik, ash-Shāfi'ī and Ibn Ḥanbal are called *Ahlu-l Ḥadīth* or *Aṣḥābu-l Ḥadīth*, the 'followers of tradition,' because they restrict themselves to the traditions as the basis upon which to form all their decisions in civil and religious law, not contained in the Qur'ān. The followers of Abū Ḥanīfah on the other hand, are called *Ahlu-r-Rāy or Aṣḥābu-r-Rāy*, the 'followers of reason,' because they allow the use of reason in all matters that cannot be decided from the Qur'ān, the Sunnah or the Ijmā'; they even prefer sometimes the use of reason over any tradition that may not be well authenticated. *See* ash-Shahrastānī, pp. 160 and 161. Pocock, p. 292.

[2] The term *Mujtahid* was applied in the first ages of Islām to a doctor who *exerted* all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question that cannot be decided from the contents of the Qur'ān, the Sunnah or the *Ijmā'* of learned doctors. When the principal points of law were fixed, however, by the doctors and more particularly by the founders of the four schools of jurisprudence the exercise of private judgment in legal questions ceased to be recognized. (De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, I. 201). But in Persia the title of *Mujtahid* is still granted to eminent divines to whom cases from the courts of law are submitted and whose sentence is deemed irrevocable. There are seldom more than three or four priests of the dignity of Mujtahid in Persia; they are appointed by the people and confirmed in the appointment by the King. Hughes, p. 418. *See* also De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, tome I, p. 169.

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in the right.'[1] Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah[2] has also said that "Verily God will not punish anyone for what the learned disagree about;" besides, if once a judge hears and determines a case,
39. no other judge has power to set aside his judgment even though he should believe it to be wrong. A section of the Karrāmiyyah, on the other hand, say that every *Mujtahid* is right in both legal and theological questions,[3] excepting the infidels at heart. The author of this opinion, held as true by a body of Murji'ah, supports his view by a tradition of the Prophet 'My followers will divide into seventy-three separate bodies, of which seventy-two shall be in heaven and one only in hell.' All other doctors, however, maintain that 'those only are right whose judgment is in accordance with the truth' and that these can only be of one body of men. They ground their argument on another tradition which has 'seventy-two in hell and one only shall be saved.'[4] This tradition is more generally received but the other rests on better authority; and God is all-knowing. If the first be the true version, the condemned sect must be the Bāṭiniyyah and if the second be true, the section that shall be saved must be the greater number of the people. These I have always found to be of four denominations: the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah in al-Mashriq, the

[1] Cf. *Mishkātu-l Maṣābīḥ*, II. 749, 'My companions are like stars, by which roads are found; then whichever you follow, you will find the right road.' The difference of the companions is said to be an act of kindness to men because of the greater liberty it gives them of choosing convenient ways and practices; while, if no choice were left them but to act in a certain manner, which may be injurious or unpracticable to some of them, they would be put to great hardship and difficulty.

[2] Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah was an eminent traditionist, well versed in the Qur'ān and by far the most accurate and learned expounder of traditions. He was born in al-Kūfah, in 107 H., but took up his residence in Makkah where he ended his life in 198 H. An-Nawawī, p. 289.

[3] *Al-Uṣūl wa-l Furū'*, the fundamentals and derivatives, or the roots and branches. The author of *Sharḥu-l Mawāqif* says:—The precepts taken from the law are of two kinds. Some have for their object faith itself, such as the belief that God is omniscient, omnipotent, all-hearing and all-seeing. These are called dogmas, fundamentals and articles of faith and are treated of in the science of Theology, *al-Kalām*. Others relate to practice, such as, Voluntary prayers are necessary' and 'Alms are indispensable.' These are called 'practical,' 'derivative' and 'external' precepts and are treated of in the science of Jurisprudence, *al-Fiqh*. See Pocock, p. 203.

[4] *Cf.* Pocock, p. 213; and *Mishkātu-l Maṣābīḥ*, I, 50.

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followers of Mālik in al-Maghrib, the followers of ash-Shāfi'ī in ash-Shāsh and the treasure-towns of Naisābūr, and the traditionists in ash-Shām, Aqūr, ar-Riḥāb and the other provinces, mixed up with the rest, as I have shown in my account of the provinces in the body of the work.

There are four sets of reading systems [1] in actual use:—The system used by the people of al-Ḥijāz which comprises four readings, those of Nāfi',[2] Ibn Kathīr,[3] Shaibah [4] and Abū Ja'far.[5] That of the people of al-'Irāq which likewise contains four readings, namely, the readings of 'Āṣim,[6] Ḥamzah,[7] al-Kisā'ī [8] and Abū 'Amr.[9] The reading of the people of ash-Shām, which is that of 'Abdu-llah Ibn 'Āmir;[10] and lastly the readings of individual persons, of which there are four:—the reading of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍhramī,[11]

[1] The reader is referred to Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, pp. 279–300, for the origin of the variations in the text of the Qur'ān and the different schools of reading the sacred book. The Qur'ān was originally written without diacritical points, so that a large number of words could be read in a variety of ways. The reading was afterwards reduced to system; but different versions had to be recognized. *See* De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, I, 152.

[2] Abū Ruwaim Nāfi' b. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān b. Abū Nu'aim, a native of al-Madīnah; born about 70 H. and died in 169. De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, III. 522. Nöldeke, p. 289.

[3] Abū Ma'bad 'Abdu-llah Ibn Kathīr, a native of Makkah; born, 45 H. died 120 H. De Slane's Ibn Khall., II. 20. Nöldeke, p. 289.

[4] Shaibah ibn Niṣāḥ of al-Madīnah, a freed man of Umm Salimah, one of the wives of Muḥammad. Nöldeke, p. 288.

[5] Abu Ja'far Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā', native of al-Madīnah; died in 130 H. Ibn Khall., IV. 159. Nöldeke, p. 289.

[6] Abū Bakr 'Āṣim b. Abu-n-Najūd, native of al-Kūfah; born, 53 H., died 128. Nöldeke, p. 290. Hughes, p. 478.

[7] Abū 'Umārah Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb az-Zayyāt, native of al-Kūfah; born 80, died 156. Ibn Khall., I 478. Nöldeke, p. 290.

[8] Al-Kisā'ī, native of al-Kūfah; died 189. Ibn Khall., II. 237. Nöldeke, p. 291.

[9] Abu 'Amr b. al-'Alā' b. 'Ammār at-Tamīmī, native of al-Baṣrah; born in Makkah, 65; died in Damascus 154 H. Ibn Khall., II. 399. Nöldeke, p. 290.

[10] 'Abdu-llah Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣabī, native of Damascus; born in 21, died 118 H. Nöldeke, p. 290. Abu-l Maḥāsin's Annales, I. 310. Hughes (p. 479) says that his date is uncertain.

[11] Abū Muḥammad Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍhramī, native of al-Baṣrah; born 125, died 205. Ibn Khall., IV. 287. Nöldeke, p. 291.

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the Selection of Abū 'Ubaid,[1] the Selection of Abū Ḥātim,[2] and the reading of al-A'mash.[3] The majority of doctors are of opinion that all are in the right. Of the sects, I have fixed upon that of Abū Ḥanīfah, *God shew him mercy*, by preference, for the characteristics I shall mention in my account of the province of al-'Irāq; and of the readings, upon that of Abū 'Imrān 'Abdu-llah Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣabī, for the reasons explained in my account of Aqūr.

The common people have departed from the code of Abū Ḥanīfah in four questions:—the prayers of the two festivals,[4] except in Zabīd and Biyār; the poor-rate levied on horses;[5] the placing of a dying person in the direction of the *Ka'bah*;[6] and

[1] Abu 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām; died in 224. Ibn Khall., II. 486. Nöldeke, p. 293. Ḥājī Khalfa, IV. 507. He was the first Imām of note who collected the various readings in one volume.

[2] Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī, died at al-Baṣrah in 248 H. Ibn Khall., I. 603.

[3] Al-A'mash (the blear-eyed), a celebrated Imām gifted with superior abilities; born at al-Kūfah in 60 H.; died in 148. Ibn Khall., I. 587.

[4] The two rak'ah prayers recited on the two festivals, the 'Idu-l Fiṭr 'the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast' and the 'Idu-l-Aḍḥā 'the feast of sacrifices.' In the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah, the prayers of the two festivals are what is called *wājib*, but other doctors took upon them as *sunnah*; so that while according to Abū Ḥanīfah, it is obligatory on every individual Muslim, it is sufficient in the opinion of all others, that only part of the Muslims should perform them.

The precepts or practices of the prophet are of three kinds, *Wājib*, *Sunnah*, and *Mustaḥabb*. Those that are *Wājib* or *Sunnah* are intimately connected with divine worship; but while the first can never be dispensed with, the latter may sometimes be left undone. The *Mustaḥabb* refer to the peculiar customs of Muḥammad and may be performed or omitted at will.

[5] According to Abū Ḥanīfah, a *zakāt* or 'poor-rate' of one-fortieth [not five per cent. as in Hughes (p. 700)], of the total value, is due on pasturing horses, not however if a drove of horses consisted entirely of males, or entirely of mares. But other doctors are of opinion that no *zakāt* whatever is due upon horses. *Fatāwā Qāẓī Khān*, I. 210.

[6] Abū Ḥanīfah requires a dying person to be placed with his face towards the *Qiblah* and to be laid on his right side, just as a corpse is placed in the grave (*Al-Kifāyah* on *al-Hidāyah*, I. 433); but the practice is to lay the dying man on his back, as that posture is easier for the going out of the soul; when life has departed the body is directed towards the Qiblah stretched on its back, in such a manner that were it to be set up the face would be fronting the Qiblah. (*Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, II. 119).

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the obligatory nature of sacrifices,[1] except in Bukhārā and ar-Raiy. They have departed from the rules of Mālik in four questions also:—praying in front of the Imām,[2] except in al-Maghrib, in Miṣr on Fridays, and in ash-Shām at funerals; eating dogs' flesh,[3] except in two cities of al-Maghrib, where it is publicly sold, and except in Miṣr and Yathrib where it is secretly used in the making of *harīsahs*;[4] finishing prayers with a single *taslīmah*,[5] except in certain towns of al-Maghrib; and indifference with regard to the words of praise in making the bows and the prostrations in prayer,[6] excepting the ignorant. They have departed from the code of ash-Shāfi'ī in four questions:— the pro- 40.

[1] The offering of sacrifices is a *sunnah* with Aḥmad, Mālik and ash-Shāfi'ī; but a *sunnah* which those who have the power will do well not to omit. It is, however, *wājib* or obligatory with Abū Ḥanīfah, so that the non-observance of it constitutes a sin. *Ghunyātu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, II. 42.

[2] The general practice is for the people to stand behind the Imām or 'leader of prayers;' but if there is one person only, he stands on the right of the Imām. A female leading women in prayers takes her stand in the middle of the row of worshippers.

[3] All species of dogs are unlawful food; they are also considered as unclean animals, except by Mālik who pronounces them to be clean with the exception of some species. See *Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān* of ad-Damīrī; *al-Kifāyah*, Vol. IV. 1022; and Hughes, p. 130.

[4] A kind of thick pottage made of bruised wheat boiled to a consistency, to which meat, butter, cinnamon and aromatic herbs are added. (Dictionaries.)

[5] The benediction at the close of the usual form of prayer, "*As-salāmu 'alaikum wa raḥmatu-llāh!*" "The peace and mercy of God be with you!" It is said twice, the worshipper in the first instance turning his head round to the right and in the second instance to the left. Mālik, however, says it is said once only, with the face to the front.

[6] *Aṣ-Ṣalāt*, or 'Prayer' is preceded by certain *sharā'iṭ* or essential conditions, such as ablution and the like, without which prayer cannot be said. It has also certain *arkān* or 'pillars' *wājibāt*, *sunan* and *hai'āt* or peculiar postures. The non-observance of any of the *arkān*, whether wilfully or inadvertently, renders prayer ineffectual. To omit any of the *wājibāt* through forgetfulness may be remedied by "the prostrations of forgetfulness;" but if purposely, the prayer is nullified. If any of the *sunan* or *hai'āt* be omitted, the efficacy of prayer is not affected in any way.

The *Tasbīḥu-r-Rukū'* and the *Tasbīḥu-s-Sujūd* (See Hughes, p. 467) are considered of the *wājibāt* by all except Mālik who reckons them of the *sunan*. Their wilful omission according to Mālik is of no account; whilst with others it destroys the efficacy of prayers.

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nouncing the *bismi-llāh* with an audible voice,[1] except in al-Mashriq in the mosques of his followers; in respect of the *qunūt*,[2] the special supplication at the close of the morning prayer; the declaring one's intention at the instant of the *takbīrah* at the beginning of prayer;[3] and the omission of the special supplication in *Witr*, in other than the last half of Ramaḍhān,[4] except in Nasā. They have departed from the rules of Dā'ūd in four particulars: taking more than *two* wives,[5] allotting to two daughters half the

[1] The other sects repeat the *Tasmiyah*, "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful," (Hughes, p. 466 *b*), in an undertone; but ash-Shāfi'ī requires it to be said audibly when chapters of the Qur'ān are read aloud.

[2] With the exception of ash-Shāfi'ī, all doctors say that the *qunūt* (*see* Hughes, p. 482) is said after the *Witr* prayers (Hughes, p. 670) only; but ash-Shāfi'ī says it may be said after the morning prayers, as well.

[3] The Muslim, before entering upon any act of devotion, must declare his *niyyah* or intention to perform such an act; otherwise, it is null and void. The Ḥanafīs consider the *niyyah* as a *sharṭ*, or condition, which *precedes* prayers and which holds good even if a time elapses before a man commences his prayers, provided he has done nothing in the interval foreign to the nature of prayer. Accordingly, if a man, while making his ablutions, declares his intention to perform the midday prayers for instance, his prayers are valid even if, at the time of praying, he forgets to repeat the *niyyah*. The Shāfi'īs, however, hold that the declaration of the intention ought to be made *with* the *takbīrah*, *i.e.*, the *Allāhu akbar* or 'God is great,' with which all prayers begin. In the case mentioned above, the man's prayers are not valid according to the Shāfi'īs.

[4] As already explained the *Qunūt* is a secret prayer offered at the close of the *Witr*, which, as the word implies, is an *odd* number of rak'ahs, 3, 5 or 7, said at any time between the last prayer at night, and the dawning of day (Hughes, p. 670). The *Qunūt* may be offered at any time of the year; ash-Shāfi'ī however holds that it is not admissible except in the latter half of the month of Ramaḍhān.

[5] In C. *four*. We are at a loss to account for the selection of the wrong reading by the editor; we should certainly read الأربع as in C. The number of wives which a man may take to himself, is limited to four by verse 3 of the fourth chapter of the Qur'ān. It runs thus, 'Marry what seems good to you of women, by *twos*, or *threes*, or *fours*.' The meaning of the verse can only be that every man may have two, or three, or four wives; yet some, such as the *Ḍhāhiriyyah* or followers of Dā'ūd al-Iṣfahānī, from a too literal acceptation of the words in the verse, have thought that there is sanction here for marrying as many as nine wives (2 + 3 + 4), and others for even taking an unlimited number of wives. But in justice to the author of Islām it must be said that this interpretation of the verse is quite unwarrantable. In con-

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estate ; [1] that a man living in the vicinity of a *masjid* is bound to say his prayers in the *masjid* itself ; and in the question of *al-'Aul, when the shares exceed in amount the property to be divided.*[2] They have departed from the tradition sects in four :—the *mut'ah* [3] during

nection with this may be read with interest the discussion set on foot by Akbar as to the number of freeborn women a man was legally allowed to marry. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I. 173.

[1] In the 12th verse of *Sūratu-n-Nisā'*, the IVth chapter of the Qur'ān, a son having sisters is given the portion of two daughters ; if there are only daughters and they should be more than two, they are to have two-thirds ; if there be but one daughter, she shall have half the property. It is not distinctly stated what shall be the portion of two daughters when there is no other issue. Ibn 'Abbās would not give them more than half, *i.e.*, the share of an only daughter ; but all the other companions are unanimous in allotting them two-thirds. Ibn 'Abbās contends that daughters are to be given two-thirds only when they are *more* than two. Those who hold the other view, however, say that as the share of a son is equal to that of two daughters, therefore, by inference, the share of two daughters is equal to that of the son, who receives two-thirds when inheriting with his sister. They say further that as it was not intended to give more than two-thirds to daughters, whatever may be their number, it was distinctly laid down that when more than two, they shall still have two-thirds, the *implied* share of two daughters.

[2] *See* Sir W. Jones's translation of *as-Sirājiyyah*, Works, Vol. III, p. 527. Examples which come under *al-'Aul* are worked upon the principle of division into proportional parts. The shares being expressed in fractions, these are reduced to equivalent ones with a common denominator ; then the property is divided into shares equal to the sum of the new numerators added together, and each will take as many of these shares as shall be equal to their particular numerator after the process of reduction.

As will be seen from Sir W. Jones's commentary on *as-Sirājiyyah* referred to above (Works, Vol. III, p. 575) the first case of *'Aul* arose in the caliphate of 'Umar. It was the case of a woman who died leaving a husband, a mother and a sister of the whole blood. By the law of the Qur'ān, the husband and sister were each entitled to a moiety and the mother to a third of the property ; but, as Ibn 'Abbās says, if an arithmetician could number the sands, yet he could never make *two halves* and a *third* equal to a whole ; and as the shares are fixed by positive law and none can by any means be deprived of their share, the shares of all the claimants were, by the above rule, diminished in exact proportion. Ibn 'Abbās may be permitted to contend that if God has fixed $\frac{1}{2}$ as the share of any person, his claim is not satisfied by receiving $\frac{3}{8}$; but the doctors are wise enough to act on their own initiative in such matters and to divide the property equitably between all the claimants ; while there can be little doubt that had the question arisen in the life-time of the prophet, he would have decided it in the same way.

[3] Pilgrimage to the sacred temple of Makkah is of two kinds, *Ḥajj* and

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pilgrimage; rubbing over the turban; [1] not accounting sand as a substitute for water in ablution; [2] and that ablution loses its efficacy through laughter.[3] Four of the sects, however, agree with them upon one or another of these four questions:—Abū Ḥanīfah on laughter; the Shī'ah on *mut'ah;* the Shāfi'ī on sand ablution, and the Karrāmiyyah on rubbing over the turban. The common people have departed from the Shī'ah in four questions again: the *mut'ah*; [4] that a man is under legal obligation to divorce his

'Umrah. The *Ḥajj* can only be made on the appointed days of Dhu-l-Ḥijjah; while the *'Umrah* may be performed at any other time. When the 'Umrah, however, is made during the Ḥajj season, which commences on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwāl, and in advance of the greater pilgrimage, it is then called *al-Mut'ah* (enjoyment), because on performing the circuit of the Ka'bah and running between al-Marwah and aṣ-Ṣafā and on offering a fitting sacrifice, the pilgrim is absolved, till the time of the Ḥajj, from all restrictions imposed on visitors to the holy city, and may *enjoy* the pleasures of life during his stay in Makkah, anterior to the great pilgrimage.

Some doctors consider *al-Mut'ah*, which is also called *at-Tamattu'*, as superior to the other kinds of pilgrimage, and even assert that it is the kind of pilgrimage enjoined upon the believers; they are not supported, however, in the latter point, as may be gathered from the text.

The Mut'ah in this instance cannot refer to the *mut'atu-n-Niṣā'* or 'temporary marriages.'

[1] This is a question of *waḍhū*.' In washing the head for ceremonial purification, the majority of doctors require that the turban should be taken off; so that the wetted hand shall be drawn over the surface of the head. Some, however, assert that it is sufficient, under certain circumstances, to rub the hand over the turban; but the general practice is as above. Traditions are cited, however, to prove that it is equally right to rub the head only, or the turban only, or both the head and the turban. See *ar-Rauḍhatu-n-Nadiyyah*, p. 26.

Hughes (art. *Masaḥ*, p. 328) appears to have understood the operation of touching the boots or the turban as a process of making these garments themselves ceremonially clean. It is meant, however, as a substitute for washing the head or feet in the ablutions that are required before prayers, as for instance when the worshipper is an old man and would be injured by the application of cold water to the head or when there is a wound in the feet.

[2] For *at-Tayammum* see Hughes (p. 631). Ash-Shāfi'ī, Aḥmad and Dā'ūd do not allow the use of anything but dust for the purposes of *at-Tayammum;* but Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Auzā'ī and others allow the use of the earth, and anything thereon.

[3] *See al-Fatāwa-l 'Ālamgīriyyah*, I. 14.

[4] See Hughes, p. 414. There is much controversy as to the legality of *mut'ah* marriages, which are usually contracted for a limited period, not ex-

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wife, if three repudiations be given in immediate succession;[1] in rubbing the feet,[2] and the *ḥai'alah* in the call to prayer.[3] They have departed from the Karrāmiyyah in four questions: dispensing with the declaration of intention before each obligatory prayer;[4] saying the prescribed prayers on horseback;[5] that, if

tending in most cases to more than a few days. The Sunnī doctors do not deny that it was permitted by Muḥammad on two distinct occasions; but they are unanimous in saying that at last the prophet prohibited for all time the contracting of such marriages. However, it was not till near the end of the caliphate of 'Umar that the *mut'ah* was definitely pronounced to be illegal. Needless to say, the Shī'ah, who are always active in opposition to this Khalīfah, vehemently attack his decision in this matter, not so much from any merit that *mut'ah* marriages possess, as from sectarian animosity to the person of 'Umar. They contend that the 28th verse of the IVth chapter of the Qur'ān, sanctions these marriages; but their contentions do not really amount to much, as nothing in this verse can with justice be applied to *mut'ah* marriages exclusively. The fact remains, however, that Muḥammad *did* sanction these marriages twice in his life and that several distinguished Companions adhered to the practice. See *ar-Rauḍhatu-n-Nadiyyah*, p. 189.

1 *See* Hughes, p. 576 (*d*). The Shī'ah law of Divorce is more stringent than the Sunnī law and in many respects compares favorably with it. The point with which we are immediately concerned is the *ṭalāqu-l bid'ah* which is an irregular form of divorce, as when a husband repudiates his wife by three formulary sentences uttered consecutively, or by a triple divorce expressed in one sentence. The Shī'ah look upon this form of divorce as having absolutely no efficacy; but the Sunnīs, although they hold the Muslim who thus divorces his wife to be an offender against the law, give legal effect to the divorce, in spite of its irregularity. Hughes, p. 88. See *ar-Rauḍhatu-n Nadiyyah*, p. 212.

2 The Sunnīs *wash* the feet in their ablutions; but the Shī'ah merely pass their wetted hands over their feet without causing any water to flow upon them. The difference between the two sects arose from two different readings of the eighth verse of ch. V of the Qur'ān; but although the verse in question, in its different readings, sanctions both ways of purification, the practice of the prophet was always in favor of washing. Cf. *al-Kashshāf*, Vol. I. 347.

3 This refers to the formula حي على خير العمل *Ḥayya 'alā khairi-l-'amal!* "come to the best of works!", which the Shī'ah add to the *adhān*. *See* Hughes, p. 28.

4 As stated in another place, the worshipper *must* declare in formulated words his intention to perform any act of devotion he sets about, specifying the nature of such act. This is quite essential in all acts of divine institution; but the Karrāmiyyah, it appears, do not look upon the declaration of intention as of binding necessity.

5 A traveller may, when riding, say any prayers except those of divine

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a person, through ignorance of the time, takes food after the break of day, he may still fast for the day;[1] and that a man shall be held to have duly performed his prayers even if the sun should have risen in the meantime.[2] They have differed from all in the following four matters: the *takbīr* in the days of
41. *at-tashrīq*;[3] prayer before the two festivals;[4] inadmissibity to enter

institution. In such a case he fronts any quarter towards which his breast may turn, but first repeats his intention to be fronting the *Qiblah*. Signs are made instead of *rukū'* and prostrations. (*Mishkāt*, I. 290). Even prayers of divine ordinance may be said while riding, if there is any good reason to excuse one from dismounting. (See *al-Fatāwa-l 'Ālamgīriyyah*, Vol. I. 200.) The Karrāmiyyah, it appears, do not trouble themselves about excuses; but say even their divine prayers, in the saddle.

[1] The remedies for a breach of the fast are of two kinds, *Qaḍhā'* and *Kaffārah*. The first consists in the performance of the fast at some other time; and the second in the freeing of a slave, or fasting two months successively, or giving victuals to sixty poor people. In some instances the *qaḍhā'* only is necessary, as when a man takes food in the morning and finds out afterwards that he did so after the break of day. In other instances both the *qaḍhā* and the *kaffārah* are enjoined, as, for example, when a man intentionally eats at the forbidden time. When a man has once broken his fast, he may of course take nourishment during the remainder of that day. The Karrāmiyyah, it seems, allow a man who breaks his fast through ignorance of the time of day, to abstain from food as on a fast day; and they do not consider that a *qaḍhā* is necessary under the circumstances.

[2] The time in which morning prayers may be said begins with the break of day and ends *before* the rising of the sun. Prayers are not allowed to be said at sunrise, nor exactly at noon or sunset, as these are the times when the fire-worshippers said their prayers. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 73.

[3] The *takbīr* during the *Ayyāmu-t-Tashrīq* (Hughes, p. 27), which are the three days following the great day of sacrifice, namely, the 11th, 12th and 13th of Dhu-l Ḥijjah, is based upon Qur'ān, II. 199, "Remember God for a certain number of days." The form of the *takbīr* during these days, according to the school of Abū Ḥanīfah is as follows: '*Allāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar, lā ilāha illa-llāh; wa-llāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar, wali-llāhi-l ḥamd.* These words are repeated at the end of all prayers, except the *Witr*. The doctors have differed as to the exact words of the *takbīr*, as well as with regard to the beginning and end of the season during which it is enjoined. The common people have therefore cut the matter short by disregarding the duty altogether. See *al-Fatāwa-l 'Ālamgīriyyah*, I. 213 and *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, II. 43.

[4] The prayers of the two Festivals may be said between the time when the sun assumes a luminous colour in the morning and the time it begins to decline. When a man has said the prayers of the Festivals, he must not

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upon his return from Minā on the last day *before* the going down of the sun; [1] and washing the foot three times in ablution.[2]

It is seldom that doctors of the school of Abū Ḥanīfah are found without four distinctive features: high position with skilfulness of address, erudition, devoutness and piety. The four peculiarities which generally mark the followers of Mālik are, sluggishness, stupidity, religion and adherence to custom. The four characteristics of the followers of ash-Shāfi'ī are, sagacity, turbulence, humaneness and irascibility. Of the followers of Dā'ūd, haughtiness, irritability, loquaciousness and opulence. Of the Mu'tazilah, elegance, wisdom, lewdness and scoffing. Of the Shī'ah, inveterate hatred, sedition, wealth and renown. Of the Traditionists, adherence to example, activity, liberality to the poor and success in contest. Of the Karrāmiyyah, piety, partisanship, meanness and mendicity. Of men of letters, sprightliness, vanity, ability and elegance in dress; and of Readers, covetousness, sodomy, ostentation [3] and hypocrisy.

The religious bodies who enjoy rights of subjects under pro-

occupy himself with supererogatory prayers, *nor ought he to pray before* the said prayers; but he must return home and keep company with the inmates of his house, as these are days of gladness and rejoicing. See *Ghunyatu-ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, II. 111.

[1] The pilgrim should spend the three days called *Ayyâmu-t-Tashrīq*, or the 'days of drying flesh in the sun,' in Minā and should throw each day seven pebbles at each of the three pillars. He may, however, return to Makkah on the second day after throwing the stones, which takes place in the afternoon. Should he remain in Minā to the third and last day, he cannot make his return till the afternoon, after again throwing stones at the pillars. The common practice, however, is for pilgrims to return to Makkah on the *morning* of the 13th. See Burton's *Pilgrimage*, Vol. III, 241 note ‡.

[2] Although it is not necessary to wash the feet in ablutions more than *once*, yet as it was the practice of the prophet to wash them three times, the doctors have decided that it is commendable to follow this practice. They even say that if a man *as a matter of habit* washes his feet only *once*, he thereby becomes guilty, but not otherwise. The general practice however is to wash them once only (Hughes, p. 3).

[3] The word رياء translated by 'ostentation' is wanting in the text. It cannot be doubted that this is the word to be supplied here as the phrase رياء و سمعة is of frequent use; it means 'the assuming of a false appearance of virtue or religion,' in order to be seen and to be well spoken of, *πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι*.

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tection of the law are four,—the Jews, the Christians, the *Majūs*[1] and the *Ṣābi'ah*.[2] We shall note down, if God will, without partiality or prejudice the ascendency of everyone of the before-mentioned sects in their respective places and shall describe their good, as well as their bad, qualities. Should it be said, 'Most of what thou hast mentioned is wrong and contrary to well-known facts; thou hast even departed from long-established usage in making number four the basis of division, instead of the number seven; and yet thou knowest that God *whose name is glorious* created seven heavens and seven earths, and has made the days seven and the nights seven, that provisions are of seven kinds;[3] that the Qur'ān is revealed in words of seven dialects,[4] and that the *masjids* are seven;'[5] and should that be stated which I shall

1 The Magians, adherents of the Zoroastrian religion. *See* Hughes, p. 310. D'Herbelot, II. 508.

2 The Sabians. Hughes, p. 551. D'H., III. 145. Dabistān, III. 310 and note 1.

3 This may refer to the food sent from heaven for Jesus Christ, which is stated to have been composed of five loaves of bread, one of which held olives, another honey, another butter, another cheese, and the fifth dried meat; with a fish, without scales or bones, having salt at its head and vinegar at its tail and vegetables of all kinds except the leek: *Kashshāf* III. 391. Or it may refer to the dish which Noah prepared after the deluge with seven kinds of vegetables which he had remaining—beans, barley, wheat, onions, lentils, vetchlings and rice. This is the origin of the dish which it is the custom of the people of Cairo to prepare on the day of 'Āshūrā'. *Nawādiru-l Qalyūbī* p. 144. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 429.

4 *See* Hughes *s. v.* Seven Dialects, p. 569.

5 The three most venerated mosques in Islām are al-Masjidu-l Ḥarām at Makkah, Masjidu-n-Nabī or the Prophet's Mosque at al-Madīnah, and al-Masjidu-l Aqṣā at Jerusalem. Of mosques connected with the history of Muḥammad and his religion may also be cited, Masjidu-l Khaif, Masjidu-t-Taqwā, Masjidu-sh-Shajarah, and Masjidu-l-Kabsh. These will be mentioned in their proper places.

Here C adds: the planets are also seven; the principal joints are seven; prayers are of seven kinds; the circumambulations (of the Ka'bah), the runnings (between aṣ-Ṣafā and al-Marwah) and the pebbles (thrown at the three pillars at Minā) are each seven; fasting is incumbent on reaching seven years of age; the climates of the world are seven; the principles in arranging cases of inheritance with fixed shares are seven (*See* Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. III. p. 529). Regarding the mystic number seven see Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 406.

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partly answer later on, I reply that I have guarded against this in saying 'the recognized sects' not 'the sects into which the Muslims are divided;' and if the actual facts are in some instances at 42.
variance with our statements, this will be found to form the exception, the truth being upon the whole as we have represented.[1] The Samaritans[2] are akin to the Jews; and the fact that they consider Mūsā, *on him be peace*, as their prophet, proves it beyond doubt.[3] The quaternary division, on the other hand, is accidental and without any design on my part; nevertheless, examples are not wanting to show that this also rests on well-established authority; for instance, the sacred Books are four;[4] man is created of four (humours);[5] the temperaments are four; the seasons are four;[6] the rivers are four;[7] the corners of the 43.

[1] C for this: The worshippers of idols in as-Sind are not of the *Dẖimmah*, or those under protection of Islām; it is on this account that they are exempted from the poll-tax. The *Majūs*, however, are accounted as of the *Dẖimmah*; for 'Umar ordered them to be treated in the same way as the People of the Book (the Jews and Christians.) The fact that we call the followers of one and the same code of doctrines by two names, one of praise and one of blame, does not arise from a love of eulogizing or reviling on our part; our object is merely to show what others think of any sect and by what names they call them. Whoever therefore looks into this book must keep his wits about him and ponder well what he reads in order to find out our real object; otherwise he will hold our book in contempt and will, moreover, blame us.

[2] As-Sāmirah; D'H., III. 197; ash-Shahrastānī, p. 170.

[3] C adds here: It is generally said of Abū Ḥanīfah that he did not engage in theological discussions; this is also what I have noticed in the most distinguished doctors in this age, as Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ, Abū Bakr ibnu-l Faḍhl, al-Ismā'īlī, aṣ-Ṣa'wānī and al-'Aqīlī. I once heard Abu-l Ḥusain al-Qazwīnī say that no doubt Abū Ḥanīfah was of the *Murji'ah*; whereas most of those of his followers who claim to be students of theology are *Mu'tazilah*. This being so we did not consider it right to say that Abū Ḥanīfah engaged in both Jurisprudence and theology; the utmost we can say is that of his followers some studied scholastic theology, while others, students of theology, engaged in the study of practical law.

[4] At-Taurāt (the Old Testament), al-Injīl (the New Testament), az-Zabūr (the Book of Psalms) and al-Qur'ān.

[5] The four humours of the body are,—aṣ-Ṣafrā' (the yellow bile), as-Saudā' (the black bile), ad-Dam (blood) and al-Balgham (phlegm).

[6] Spring, summer, autumn and winter.

[7] The four "rivers of paradise"—the Nile, the Euphrates, Saiḥān and Jaiḥān. Cf. Gen. ii. 11 to 14.

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Ka'bah are four;[1] and the sacred months are four.[2] Al-Aṣbagh

[1] Al-Ka'bah is a nearly square building; its four *rukns* or corners are,—*ar-Ruknu-l Aswad*, which looks to the East and holds the Black Stone; *ar-Ruknu-l 'Irāqī*, looking to the North; *ar-Ruknu-sh-Shāmī*, towards the West; and *ar-Ruknu-l Yamānī*, which looks towards the South.

[2] The four sacred months are,—*al-Muḥarram*, the first month of the year; *Rajab*, the seventh month; and *Dhu-l Qa'dah* and *Dhu-l Ḥijjah*, the two last months.

C adds here: Ibrāhīm has also divided four birds into four parts, and placed them on four mountains; the rivers, mountains and battle-fields are each four: four towns are of paradise; the winds are four; the pillars of Islām next to faith are four; the ablution is in four members of the body; the number of witnesses to prove a charge of adultery is four; a *salam* sale is not lawful except in four kinds of articles; a Muslim cannot marry of wives except four; the gardens of the world are four; the *takbīrs* in the burial service are four; the rightly guided Khalīfahs are four; and four things upon four classes are of binding nature.—

To show Abraham how the dead are to be revived at the resurrection, God ordered him to take four birds, cut them to pieces and put a part of them on four separate mountains; then to call them by name, when they will rise, whole and sound, and go to him. Qur'ān, II. 262. Sale's Koran, p. 32 and notes. *Al-Kashshāf*, p. 173. The four birds are said to be the peacock, the cock, the raven and the pigeon; while the mountains are located on the road from Makkah to at-Tan'īm, near the wells called az-Zāhir, two on each side of the road (Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, I. 337).

The four rivers as already stated are,—the Nile, the Euphrates, Saiḥān and Jaiḥān. The four "pre-eminent mountains," *Sādātu-l-jibal*, are,—Mount Sinai, the Lebanon, Uḥud and al-Jūdī. In page 137 of the text, however, Muḥammad is reported to have said that four mountains are of paradise; but the names of three only are given,—Uḥud, Majannah and Mount Sinai. Abū Hurairah, again, is reported to have said that the best of all mountains are,—Uḥud, al-Ash'ar and Wariqān, three mountains between Makkah and al-Madīnah. The four battle-fields said to be of paradise are,—Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq and Ḥunain; these will be noticed in another place. The four towns that are of paradise are,—Makkah, al-Madīnah, Iliyā' (Jerusalem) and Dimashq. This is as reported by Makḥūl (Yāqūt, III. 423); but Ka'bu-l Aḥbār (*Kitābu-l Buldān* of Ibnu-l Faqih, p. 109) says they are Ḥimṣ, Dimashq, Bait Jibrīn and Ḍhafār. Makḥūl also names four towns as being of the towns of hell; they are,—Anṭāqiyah [Antioch]; aṭ-Ṭuwānah, a frontier-town near al-Maṣṣīṣah [Mopsuestia]; Qusṭanṭīniyyah [Constantinople]; and Ṣan'ā'. The four winds are,—*aṣ-Ṣabā* (the east wind), *ad-Dabūr* (the west wind), *ash-Shamāl* (the north wind), and *al-Janūb* (the south wind). The five pillars or practical duties of Islām are, 1. *Al-Īmān*, the profession of faith in the unity of God, and the mission of Muḥammad. 2. *Aṣ-Ṣalāt*, Prayer. 3. *Aṣ-Ṣaum*, Fasting. 4. *Az-Zakāt*, Almsgiving. 5. *Al-Ḥajj*, Pil-

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ibn Nabātah,[1] moreover, has related that he heard 'Alī—*May God be gracious to him*—say, 'The Qur'ān is composed of four parts; one part concerning ourselves; another, concerning our enemies; the third contains stories and parables; and the fourth, laws and regulations.' These, then, are undoubted precedents.

Relation of my actual experiences.

Several men of learning and ministers of State have written on this subject, even though their writings, besides being imperfect, are mostly, nay, all based on hearsay. On the other hand, I have myself visited everyone of the provinces, and have brought even the least important matters, within my personal knowledge. I have not omitted, at the same time, to make investigation and inquiries, and to exercise the faculty of reason. In this way, the work has come to be composed of three elements; firstly, what I have personally seen, secondly, what I have heard from trustworthy persons, and thirdly, what I have found in books written on this and other subjects. I have been assiduous in frequenting all royal libraries without exception; have studied the writings of all the sects; have acquainted myself with the opinions of all peoples; have mixed with all sorts of ascetics and have everywhere visited the assemblies of public discoursers. Thus I succeeded in gathering the knowledge I desired in this science. I have acquired thirty-six names, by all of which I have been called and addressed; such as, *Muqaddasī*, *Filasṭīnī*, *Miṣrī*, *Maghribī*, *Khurāsānī*, *Silmī*,[2] *Muqrī'* or teacher in Qur'ān-reading, *Faqīh* or

grimage. The four members of which *waḍhū'* or partial ablution is performed are,—the face, the hands, the head, and the feet. The four gardens of the world have been mentioned already, *see* p. 50 l. 17 of this translation. For the burial service which consists of four takbīrs or *Allāhu akbar* repeated four times with some short prayers, *see* Hughes p. 45. The rightly-guided Khalīfahs are the four immediate successors of Muḥammad, namely, Abū Bakr (12-13 H), 'Umar (13-23 H), 'Uthmān (23-35 H) and 'Alī (35-40 H).

[1] The authorities for this tradition given in the text are,—Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Abdān; Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiyah al-Anṣārī; Ismā'īl b. Ṣabīḥ; Sufyān al-Ḥarīrī; 'Abdu-l Mu'min; Zakariyyā', the father of Yaḥyā; al-Aṣbagh b Nabātah.

[2] The word is uncertain; perhaps the best reading is that given above. In this case the word may be taken as synonymous with *Muslim*, for *silm* in one of its significations has the sense of 'the religion of Islām;' *Muslimī*, the probable reading in MS. B, has also the same meaning as *Muslim*, as it is a relative adjective from *Muslimūn*.

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doctor of the law, *Ṣūfī*, *Walī* or holy man, *'Abid* or devotee, *Zāhid* or ascetic, *Sayyāḥ* or pilgrim, *Warrāq* or scribe, *Mujallid* or book-binder, *Tājir* or merchant, *Mudhakkir* or public discourser, *Imām*, *Mu'adhdhin* or crier of the hour of prayer, *Khaṭīb* or preacher, *Gharīb* or stranger, *'Irāqī*, *Baghdādī*, *Shāmī*, *Ḥanīfī*, *Muta'addib* (a scholar under the care of an instructor), *Karī* (a lodger in the precincts of an endowment), *Mutafaqqih* (a student of law and theology), *Muta'allim* or learner, *Farā'iḍhī* (doctor of the law of inheritance), *Ustādh* or master, *Dānishūmand* or sage, *Shaikh*,
44. *Nishāstah* (a man of learning), *Rākib* (a courier), and *Rasūl* or messenger; and that is on account of the various countries in which I have resided, and the many places that I have visited. Besides, I have had my share in all that commonly falls to the lot of travellers, with the exception of begging and the commission of a grievous sin. I have attended lectures in law and ethics; practised asceticism and devotion; lectured, in my turn, on law and ethics; preached from pulpits; cried the hour of prayer from minarets; officiated as Imām in *masjids;* delivered public discourses in congregational mosques; frequented schools; pronounced special prayers in assemblies; spoken in meetings; swallowed *harīsah*[1] with the Ṣūfīs, *tharīd*[2] with the monastics, and *'aṣīdah*[3] with seamen. I was driven in the night from mosques; have wandered in solitudes and lost my way in the deserts; was, for a time, earnestly bent on devotion; and have, at other times, openly acquired ill-gotten wealth. I have associated with the devotees of the mountain of Lubnān;[4] mixed with persons in authority for some time; owned slaves; and carried things on my head in baskets. I was very near drowning on several occasions, and have, a number of times, been plundered in predatory attacks on

[1] See *ante* p. 63 note 4 of this translation.

[2] A mess of crumbled bread, moistened with broth, and generally having small pieces of meat cut up in it. Chenery's *al-Ḥarīrī*, notes to the Thirteenth Assembly, p. 382.

[3] A sort of hasty-pudding consisting of wheat-flour moistened and stirred about with clarified butter, and cooked; it is also commonly made with boiling water, flour, clarified butter, and honey, (Dictionaries).

[4] Mount Lebanon holds a distinguished position as the residence of devout and holy men. Forty of the *Abdāl* (Lane s.v. بدل) live on it at all times, and it has in this way come to be considered as one of the most venerable of mountains, *see* p. 72 note 2 of this translation.

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our caravans. I have been in the service of magistrates and distinguished men; have conversed with kings and ministers; kept company with vicious persons on the road, and sold goods in market-places. I have been confined in prison and arrested as a spy; have witnessed the fighting of ar-Rūm in vessels of war and the striking of bells[1] in the night; have bound books for hire; paid for water by my songs;[2] travelled in litters and on

[1] Oriental Christians formerly made use of *nawāqīs*, thin oblong pieces of wood struck with flexible rods, to summon the congregation to divine service. They were not permitted to do this except in places where the Muslims were few. Now-a-days the use of church-bells is allowed, but not without great reluctance. How intolerable the striking of gongs, or the ringing of bells, is to the followers of the prophet, is amply illustrated by the events of the year 658 of the Hijrah (A.D. 1259), as narrated in the Annals of Abu-l-Fidā'. The Mughūl had overrun the countries of Islām, and sword and rapine followed in their track; the Christians, however, escaped unharmed, and believing themselves for the time in complete security, ventured to make use of the hateful gongs in the very heart of Damascus. This greatly incensed the Muslim inhabitants of the city, who saw in that a disposition to exult over their own misfortunes; accordingly on hearing that an army had marched from Egypt against the Mughūl, they fell upon the Christians of Damascus, plundered their houses and demolished the magnificent Church of Mary. The Muslims of Khilāṭ, in Central Armenia, found themselves, however, some years before this, under the necessity of building a church in the citadel and striking the gongs in order to induce the Georgians who were besieging the town to withdraw. See *al-Kāmil* of Ibnu-l Athīr under the year 623 H. (A.D. 1226).

[2] The word translated by 'songs' is imperfectly printed in the text. The above reading was adopted with reference to an anecdote of a similar nature related in *al-Aghānī*, I. 23. It refers to an incident in the life of an illustrious singer of al-Madīnah, Ma'bad by name, who himself tells the story in the following words:—An Amīr of al-Ḥijāz, who was governor of the two sacred cities at one and the same time, sent me a message to proceed to him to Makkah. I set out on my journey; and one day I happened to be ahead of my servant and was hard pressed by both heat and thirst. I came at last to a tent in which was a negro and where some large jars of water were left to cool. I accosted the man and said, 'Friend, give me of this water that I may drink.' He said, No. 'Do thou grant me then to stay under the shelter of thy roof for a while,' said I. He again said, No. Thus repulsed I made my camel lie down and, taking refuge in her shade, screened myself from the heat. It then occurred to me to compose some new music to sing before the Amīr on my arrival to him; and perhaps, thought I, in moving my tongue, my throat will also be wetted and my sufferings will be alleviated. So I began to sing in a low voice one of my old songs, when suddenly I found myself

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horseback; walked through hot winds and snows; lodged in the precincts of royal courts amongst noblemen, and lived in the midst of ignorant persons in the weavers' quarter.[1] How often have I succeeded to power and eminence! I have been the object of murderous plots more than once; have made the pilgrimage and lived in religious retirement; have engaged in Holy War and taken my post on the enemy's frontier; have drunk of *sawīq*[2] at the public drinking place[3] in Makkah; have eaten of bread and pease in times of distress;[4] and of the food provided by the

carried by the negro and taken to his tent. He then said, 'Father and mother will I give away for thee, wilt thou have some barley meal with this cool water?' I said, 'Thou hast already refused me less than this, and surely a draught of water will suffice me.' Thereupon he gave me to drink till I was quite satisfied. My servant arrived, I stayed with the negro till the evening and then thought of continuing my journey. On leaving he said to me, O thou dearer to me than father and mother, the heat is excessive and I am afraid there will happen to thee the like of what has already happened; permit me, then, to go with thee carrying a water-skin on my neck, so as to give thee to drink whenever thou art thirsty, and for each cup thou wilt please sing me a song. I replied, so be it; and by God! he never left me till I reached the station; and he used to give me water to drink and I used to sing him songs, all the way along.

[1] Weavers are proverbially notorious for lack of intelligence, although they are not as bad in this respect as some other gentry. Al-Jāḥiḍḥ has given his opinion that the intelligences of a hundred schoolmasters would make the intelligence of one woman; the intelligences of a hundred women make that of a weaver; the intelligences of a hundred weavers make that of a eunuch, while a hundred of these make the intelligence of one boy. A more charitable author says that the intelligences of two matrons make that of a single man; that the intelligences of four eunuchs make that of one woman; that the intelligences of forty weavers make that of a eunuch and that the intelligences of forty schoolmasters make that of a weaver.

[2] The meal of wheat, barley or vetches pounded small and fried; *sawīq* also means 'wine.'

[3] The tribe of Quraish both in the *Jāhiliyyah* and Islām furnished the pilgrims with water from the well of Zamzam; but as the water of this well is exceedingly heavy to the taste, they were wont to throw into it quantities of raisins and dates to give it flavour. This is what is called *Siqāyatu-l Ḥājj*; at the time of the prophet the duty of giving the pilgrims water to drink had devolved upon al-'Abbās, the uncle of the prophet, and it long remained a special prerogative of his family. *See* al-Azraqī's *History of Makkah*, p. 70.

[4] The text has بالسيق which in a marginal note in B is said to be wrong. No satisfactory word could be found to replace it; بالضيق, translated 'in times of distress,' does not seem to be inappropriate here.

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hospitality of Ibrāhīm, the Friend (of God);[1] and of the fruit of the wild sycomore[2] of 'Asqalān. I have been invested with dresses of state by sovereign kings; and rich presents have they conferred upon me. I have suffered nakedness and destitution many times. I have held correspondence with distinguished men; have been reproved by persons of noble rank; was offered the administration of religious endowments; have humbled myself before adversaries; was charged with heresies and accused of covetousness; was appointed a trustee by princes and Qāḍhīs; 45. made executor to wills and been appointed a guardian; have had good experience of cut-purses; have seen plenty of the manœuvres of sharpers; have been pursued by the most ignoble; opposed by the envious; and slandered to the authorities. I have also visited the baths of Ṭabariyyah and the fortresses of ancient Persia; and have seen the Day of the Fountain and the Feast of Barbārah,[3] as well as the well of Buḍhā'ah[4] and the mansion of Ya'qūb[5] and his villages.

[1] It is said that Abraham was the first to keep an open house for guests; hence, he is called by the title of *Abu-ḍh-Ḍhīfān*, or Father of Guests. At the time of al-Muqaddasī, a free table was still kept in Hebron for the poor and needy, and it was believed to have been provided by the munificence of the patriarch. Abraham is seldom spoken of without being styled *Kẖalīlu-llāh*, the Friend of God; or simply, *al-Kẖalīl*, as in the text.

[2] *Ficus Sycomorus*. A large tree allied to the common fig. See *Mufradāt Ibni-l Baiṭār* (Sontheimer), I. 255.

[3] The Feast of St. Barbara in Syria, which is kept in the rainy season. *See* page 182 of the text.

[4] The well of Buḍhā'ah is in the Nakẖīl or palm plantations, outside the Bābu-sẖ-Sẖāmī or north-western gate of al-Madīnah on the right of the road leading to Uḥud (Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II. 220 n). In Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 148, the water of this well is described as always fresh and clear, notwithstanding that quantities of rubbish and old rags were at all times thrown into it; the well is now greatly in ruins. Of this, as almost of all the wells in al-Madīnah, the historians say that the prophet by spitting into it caused the water, which was before salt, to become sweet and gave it besides a healing quality. In his time the sick were, by his advice, washed in its waters and were invariably cured of their ailments on the third day. Bi'r-Buḍhā'ah is said to be six cubits in diameter.

[5] Yāqūt (III. 220) says that according to the best accounts the residence of Jacob was at Sailūn [Silo, Shiloh], a village about four hours south of Nābulus [Neapolis, the Shechem of the Old Testament]. He also mentions a town near Bāniyās [Paneas] between Damascus and the coast, as having been according to some the residence of Jacob, at the time he lost Joseph and by

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Experiences of this kind are many; but the number I have mentioned will suffice to show any person reading my book, that I have not written it haphazard, nor arranged it without definite method; and thus, he may set it above others in estimation, because of the wide difference that exists between one who has personally experienced all these things, and one that has written his book at his ease, and based it on the reports of others. I have spent more than ten thousand *dirhams* in my travels; and have exposed myself, besides, to many short-comings in the performance of my religious duties. I have taken advantage of every license permitted by any of the sects; thus, I have rubbed over the feet;[1] have said my prayers with *mudhāmmatāni*;[2] have departed from Minā before the going down of the sun;[3] have

consequence called *Baitu-l Aḥzān*, or the Abode of Sorrows; but this is not in accord with the narrative in Gen. xxxvii, and some have surmised it to be the place where Jacob wrestled with the angel. The Crusaders built here a fortress which was finally reduced by Ṣalāḥu-d-Dīn in the year 575 of the Hijrah (A.D. 1179). See *al-Kāmil* of Ibnu-l Aṯhīr under the year 575, as also Abulfedæ Annales, IV, 39 and note 32 at the end of the volume.

In addition to the text, C has here the following: as well as the Mihrajān, the Sadhah, the Nairūz and its wonders in 'Adan, and the Feast of Mār Sarjah.

The Mihrjān, the Sadhah and the Nairūz are three Persian festivals of great importance, celebrated, the first on the 16th of Mihr-Māh at the autumnal equinox, the second on the night of the 10th of Bahman-Māh when many fires were lighted, and the third on the 1st of Farwardīn-Māh at the vernal equinox. *See* Al-Bīrūnī's Chronology (Sachau), pp. 207, 213 and 199. Mār Sarjah appears to be St. Sergius, celebrated by the Eastern and Western Churches on 7th October. Sergius, a Roman officer, suffered martyrdom under Maximian at Ruṣāfah in Syria. So famous was he in Syria and Christian Arabia that Chosroes II. built a Church in his name at the capital of his empire, for he fancied that the saint had not a small share in his restoration.

[1] This is the practice of the Shī'ah in their ablution; the Sunnīs *wash* their feet. *See* page 67 note 2 of this translation.

[2] After reciting the *Fātiḥah*, *viz.*, the first chapter of the Qur'ān, the worshipper who is saying his prayers can repeat as many chapters of the Sacred Book as he may wish; but he should at least, recite one long or three short verses. When on a journey, however, he may recite even a single short verse, though it should contain but one word, as the one-worded verse mentioned in the text. It is verse 64 of ch. LV of the Qur'ān, in description of Paradise and means '*gardens* with dark green foliage.' See *al-Kifāyah*, I. 244.

[3] See page 69 note 1 of this translation.

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performed the obligatory prayers on horseback[1] and with gross pollution on my garments;[2] and with the omission of the *tasbīḥ* in the *rukū'* and in the *sujūd*,[3] and with the prostrations of forgetfulness[4] before the salutation. I have joined prayers together;[5] and have curtailed my devotions,[6] even when not travelling. But I never acted differently to what the leading doctors have taught; nor have I ever deferred a prayer[7]

[1] See page 67 note 5 of this translation.

[2] The worshipper *must* purify his garments and his body, for prayer, as well as the ground whereon he prays. It is sinful to neglect this, although the prayer is still correct. There are some, however, who do not consider this to be a necessary adjunct to prayer, as they look upon it as a *sunnah*, the non-observance of which does not constitute a sin; while others, again, make it an essential part of prayer, without which it is rendered null and void.

[3] See page 63 note 6 of this translation.

[4] When a person through forgetfulness performs less or more than the requisite number of *Rak'ats* in prayer, he must as a penance go through two prostrations called 'the prostrations of forgetfulness,' (Hughes, p 556). The prophet performed these two prostrations sometimes before, sometimes after the *Salām* with which every prayer finishes. Abū Ḥanīfah has therefore decided that they are to be performed *before* the *Salām* in every case; while ash-Shāfi'ī holds quite the contrary view.

[5] Prayers must be said at the stated times; it is permissible, however, on a journey, in sickness or when it is raining, to put off a prayer and say it together with the following prayers. But as al-Muqaddasī tells us a little farther that he never deferred a prayer beyond its regular time, what he intends by *joining prayers together*, must therefore be the saying of one prayer at the latest time it is possible to say it and the saying of the one following at the beginning of the stated time for it. This is not really joining of two prayers as each prayer is said in its regular time; it is joining *in form* only, hence called *jam' ṣūrī*. A traveller has the option to say two prayers together, whether by deferring one or anticipating it.

[6] Travellers are *bound* to shorten their prayers by performing two prostrations only instead of four. However this is not the kind of *qaṣr*, or shortening, that is meant here, as this is admissible only in travelling, while our author says that he did so *not on a journey*. The *qaṣr* here intended, therefore, is that shortening in prayer which consists in omitting the prostrations and inflexions of the body and substituting the *Īmā'* or making of signs, instead. This is admissible even when not on a journey if one is *in fear of an enemy*; it is sufficient in such a case to say one's prayers sitting throughout.

[7] As already said prayers must be said at the stated times. Generally speaking the five periods of prayer are,—*Ṣalātu-l Fajr*, from dawn to sunrise; *Ṣalātu-ḍh-Ḍhuhr*, when the sun has begun to decline; *Ṣalātu-l 'Aṣr*, midway

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to a later time than that appointed. It has been a custom with me *in my early travels*, when passing on the high-road by any town lying at a distance of ten leagues or less from me, to leave the caravan, and hasten toward it, with the object of seeing it.[1] I have even hired sometimes a party of men to accompany me; and travelled by night in order to be able to rejoin my companions in time—at a cost to me of much money and labour.

46. PLACES ABOUT WHICH ACCOUNTS DIFFER.

There are in the territory of Islām certain places and shrines that do not really exist, or have doubtful situations. It became necessary, therefore, to describe them in a separate chapter, as the truth is far from being established in their case. They shall be left without remark, if ever mentioned in my account of the provinces.

In Kāzarūn is a dome, in the direction of the hill, said by the Magians to be the middle of the world;[2] an annual feast is celebrated in its honour. Outside Yanbu', towards the sea, is a consecrated spot, said to be the tongue of the earth in giving utterance to the words, "We come obedient to Thy command."[3] In al-Jashsh is a place where the chain of Dā'ūd,[4] which was

between the noon and sunset prayers; *Ṣalātu-l-Maghrib*, a few minutes after sunset; and *Ṣalātu-l Ishā'* when the night has closed in. *See* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, p. 469 and *Miṣhkātu-l Maṣābīḥ*, I. 132.

[1] This sentence finishes in the text with the word قديما translated '*in my early travels.*' It is however out of place in the sentence and is not found in MS. C.

[2] Cf. *Géo. d'Aboulf.*, I. 9 note 3. [3] Qur'ān, XLI. 10.

[4] In the time of Abraham ordeal by fire was used to determine guilt or innocence. It was performed by putting the hand into fire; the innocent escaped unhurt, but the guilty was burned. The instrument of ordeal in the time of Moses was a stick, which remained quiet when a person was innocent, but which rained blows upon the guilty. In the time of Solomon the ordeal was the wind, which kept calm for the innocent, but which used to raise the guilty and hurl him to the ground. Ordeal by water was in use in the time of Dhu-l Qarnain; the water congealed if an innocent person sat on it, but remained fluid for the guilty. The ordeal in the time of David, as explained in the text, was by a hanging chain which the innocent could reach by stretching out the hand, not so the guilty. *Nawādiru-l Qalyūbī*, p. 12.

This chain, according to Ibn 'Abbās, was in connection with the Milky Way and the vault of heaven; its lower extremity was near the judgment hall of David; it had the strength of iron and the hue of fire; it was ornamented

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used to furnish evidence of truth or falsehood, is supposed to have been. Some have said that the sepulchre of Adam is near the minaret of Masjidu-l-Khaif;[1] others have said that it is in the vicinity of the tomb of Abraham;[2] and others again that it is in al-Hind. It has also been said that the grave of Adam lies in the Wilderness; while a man in Īliyā alleges to have seen in a dream that it was at the back of Mount Zaitā [Olivet]. Those who rely on the Bible assert that the sepulchre of Dā'ūd[3] is in Ṣihyaun [Zion]. Some have said that the cities of Lot were between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The fire of Abraham is supposed by some to have been at Jarmaq.[4] It has been said that the mound

with gems and studded with fine pearls; it had, moreover, many other qualities. This chain continued to be the instrument of ordeal at the time of David, till it was finally taken up to heaven, in consequence of the appearance of fraud and deception among men. The story runs that a man, about to make a long journey, entrusted another with a valuable jewel. On returning home he demanded restitution of the jewel, but the man repudiated it altogether. They then agreed to appeal to the decision of the chain: but as the man who had the jewel knew that it was not in his power to reach the chain he betook himself to the following subterfuge. He made a hollow in his staff placing the jewel in this hollow, and came to the chain leaning upon the staff. The rightful owner of the jewel, it is needless to say, easily reached the chain; but the other, too, was not less successful; for handing the stick which contained the jewel to the man, he requested him to hold it while he was engaged in proving his innocence; and with the words "the jewel has returned to its owner," he stretched his hand and caught hold of the chain. The people greatly wondered at this, and on the morrow the chain was no longer to be seen. (*Qiṣaṣu-l-Anbiyā'*).

[1] A mosque at Minā, three miles from Makkah, where according to some Adam lies. *See* Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 249.

[2] A Jewish tradition represents Adam as buried in Hebron with the patriarchs; a Christian tradition makes Mount Calvary his resting-place. *See* Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 198 and note ‡.

[3] David's tomb is supposed to be on Mount Zion, immediately above, and to the east of the pool now called *Birkatu-s-Sulṭān*, up the vale of Hinnom, in the Upper City. It is in a large and irregular mass of building now occupied by the Muslims and called *an-Nabī Dā'ūd*. *See* Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, art. Jerusalem, II. 29*a*.

[4] Jarmaq is the name of a village in the desert between Kirmān and Khurāsān, where are said to be some black hills supposed to be the ashes of the fire of Abraham. In this desert there are besides, small black stones covering a distance of about four *farsakhs*; and also stones having the shapes of almonds, apples, lentils and beans, as well as figures of men. (*Test*, p. 400). Possibly the existence in this place of these substances, has led to the

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situated in al-Ghari[1] is the tomb of Nūḥ [Noah].[2] The tomb of 'Alī is in the *miḥrāb* (Sanctuary) of the principal mosque of al-Kūfah; others say that it is near the leaning tower.[3] Some have said that the tomb of Fāṭimah is in the Ḥujrah, or chamber, where the prophet is buried;[4] others say that it is in al-Baqī'.[5]

supposition that the five cities of the people of Lot were situated in this desert, as well as the fire of Abraham. For the latter story, narrated in the XXIst chapter of the Qur'ān, *see* Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 4.

Commentators of the Qur'ān place the scene of these occurrences in Kūthā, in al-Irāq.

[1] Al-Gharī. in its dual form, is the name of two tall buildings, outside the town of al-Kūfah, said to have been built by Abū Qābūs an-Nu'mān ibnu-l Mundhir, the last King of al-Ḥīrah (about 580–602 A.D.), over the graves of two boon companions whom he had put to death in a drunken fit. At the time of al-Muqaddasī one of the two Gharīs was already in ruins. The name signifies 'smeared with blood,' and the reason of these sepulchral monuments having been so called is said to be that an-Nu'mān used on certain days in alternate years to sacrifice to his two friends the first person he saw, *smearing* their tombs with the blood of the victim. The story has its origin in the human sacrifices which the pagan Arabs offered to the goddess al-'Uzzā. *See* Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xxvii *et seq.* See also Yāqūt. III. 792.

[2] See *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, tome I, p. 416. Another account places the tomb of Noah in *Dair Abūn*, 'the monastery of Our Father,' between Jazīrat-Ibn 'Umar and the village of Thamānīn (the Eighty), in Mesopotamia. In this monastery is a large vaulted chamber low upon the ground, and evidently of great antiquity, where a large grave is found hewn in the rock, and said to be the grave of Noah. *See* Yāqūt, II. 640 and D'Herbelot, III. 50.

[3] The leaning tower outside al-Kūfah is the *Gharī* already described; this may be gathered from the explanation given in Yāqūt (III. 790) of the word *ṭirbāl*, a portion of a wall elongated in form towards the sky and *inclining*. For a description of the tomb of 'Alī *see* D'Herbelot, I. 185 and *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, I. p. 415 *et seq.*

[4] The place in which Muḥammad was buried is called al-Ḥujrah, or the Chamber, from the circumstance of its having been 'Ā'ishah's room. On the death of the prophet some dispute arose as to the place of his burial, but he was eventually buried in the chamber where he died, on the ground that a prophet should be buried on the very spot of his death. Much obscurity hangs over the last resting-place of Fāṭimah, the only one of his children who survived him, but she is generally supposed to be buried in the place where her house stood, and which is now included in the Prophet's Mosque, as well as the Ḥujrah. See Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II. 315 note †.

[5] The cemetery of al-Madīnah, which is also called *Baqī'u-l Gharqad*, because in former times the place was thickly set with a species of large, thorny trees called by the name of *Gharqad*. In this cemetery a large

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Outside Marw,[1] in the direction of Sarakhs, is a building with a small grave, supposed to be the place wherein the head of al-Ḥusain,[2] the son of 'Alī, is deposited. In Farghānah, it is supposed, is the tomb of Ayyūb [Job]. On the summit of Mount Sīnā [Sinai] is an olive-tree, said to be the one that is 'neither of the east nor of the west;'[3] there is another on Mount Zaitā [Olivet], of which the same is said. Some have thought that the rock of Mūsā is in Sharwān; that the sea is the Lake of Ṭabaristān [the Caspian]; that the village is Bājarwān;[4] and that the boy was killed at the village of Khazarān.[5] Some say that the Barrier of Gog and Magog[6] stands on the other side of al-Andalus; others that it is the Pass of Khazarān, and that Gog and Magog are the Khazars themselves. I have heard Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Abū Bakr al-Bannā' say, 'The tomb of Joseph[7] was discovered

number of the *Aṣḥāb* or companions of the Prophet are buried. See a description of al-Baqī' in Burton's *Pilgrimage*, Vol. II, Ch. xxii.

[1] The printed text is at fault here; for خارج مرو من نحو سرخس it reads خارج قزوين نحو سرخس. That قزوين is a mistake for the words مرومن is clearly shewn by what is said at page 333 of the text, where the supposed burial-place of al-Ḥusain's head is placed at a distance of two *farsakhs* from Marw.

[2] See Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II. 313*n*.

[3] Qur'ān, XXIV. 35. In this verse God's light is said to be 'as a niche in which is a lamp, and the lamp is in a glass, the glass is as though it were a glittering star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive *neither of the east nor of the west*, the oil of which would well-nigh give light though no fire touched it.' (Palmer's Qur'ān, II. 78) That the tree is neither of the east nor of the west is interpreted to mean that it grows neither in the eastern nor the western parts, but in the midst of the world, namely, in Syria, where the best olives grow (Wherry's Commentary on the Qur'ān, III. 199). Others think the meaning to be that the tree grows neither in the sun nor in the shade, but in a place where sun and shade alternately fall upon it.

[4] This Bājarwān is situated in the district of Bābu-l-Abwāb [Darband], near Shirwān. Cf. Yāqūt (I. 454). There is another Bājarwān in Mesopotamia, see *Text*, p. 137.

[5] Read the story of these events in Qur'ān, XVIII. 59–81. The Rock, verse 62. The sea, 59, *etc.* The village, 76. The youth slain, 73. *See* also *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* (Ranking) 372, note 3.

[6] The story of Yājūj and Mājūj and the rampart which Dhu-l Qarnain built against their irruptions is told in Qur'ān, XVIII. 91–101. For a fuller account *see* Wherry's notes on the same (Commentary, III. 96 *et seq.*)

[7] A local tradition places the tomb of Joseph in the modern town of Nābulus [Neapolis], commonly supposed to be identical with the Sichem or

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in a mound long supposed to be the grave of one of the Patriarchs. It was not until a man of Khurāsān came and said that he was ordered in a dream to go to Baitu-l-Maqdis and announce the fact, that it was known to be the grave of Joseph. The governor ordered my father to leave for the place, where I accompanied him. After digging for some time the workmen came across the wood of the bier, which was found to be in a decayed state.' I still find that some of our old women possess fragments of the wood which they believe to possess the virtue of curing opthalmia.

47. AN EPITOME FOR DOCTORS OF THE LAW.

This chapter has been set for the special benefit of those who desire to have a knowledge of the metropolises of the Muslims, and the districts into which the several provinces are divided, and be acquainted with the number of the divisional capitals and their towns, but who either lack the necessary leisure to study all the particulars, or have no occasion to copy the whole of our account, and therefore want a small treatise easily carried on their travels and not difficult to commit to memory in its abridged form. I have often been asked to compose such a treatise and thus supply a desideratum. I have in consequence introduced this chapter before entering on the description of the empire; and have written it with conciseness, without prolixity and in an obscure language. If not properly understood, the text will make it perfectly clear.

It should be understood that in the following account the capitals are represented as kings; the divisional capitals as chamberlains; the towns as troops and the villages as foot soldiers. We have different explanations of the meaning of 'metropolis.' The doctors of law define it as 'a town with a large population, having courts of justice and a resident governor, and which meets public charges from its own revenue, and is the centre of authority of the surrounding country;' such as 'Aththar, Nābulus and Zūzan. Lexicographers explain it as 'that which stands as a partition between two regions;' such as al-Baṣrah ,ar-Raqqah and Arrajāu. The common people apply this word to 'any large and important town;' such as ar-Raiy, al-Mauṣil and ar-Ramlah. I have, however, used the term 'metropolis' to designate 'the city where the supreme ruler of a country resides, where the State

Shechem of the Old Testament. *See* Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, II. 412*a*.

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Departments have their quarters, in which the provincial governors receive their investiture, and to which the towns of the whole province are referred;[1] such as Dimashq, al-Qairawān and Shīrāz. Some of the metropolises and capitals of districts have dependencies so large as to contain a number of towns; such as Ṭukhāristān of Balkh, the Baṭā'iḥ of Wāsiṭ and the Zāb of Ifrīqiyyah.

The provinces as already stated are fourteen; six Arabian,—the Peninsula of the Arabs, al-'Irāq, Aqūr, ash-Shām, Miṣr and al-Maghrib; and eight non-Arabian,—al-Mashriq, ad-Dailam, ar-Riḥāb, al-Jibāl, Khūzistān, Fāris, Kirmān and as-Sind. Every province has necessarily several districts; each of the districts, a capital; and every capital, a number of towns. But while the rest of the provinces have but one metropolis severally, the Peninsula, al-Mashriq and al-Maghrib have each two metropolises.[1] The metropolis is the capital of its district; but every capital of a district is not a metropolis; again, the names of the metropolises are the names of their districts also, with the exception of the first four, al-Manṣūrah and the three last.[2] We shall begin from al-Mashriq and proceed through the other provinces to that of al-Maghrib.

The metropolises are,—Samarqand, Īrānshahr, Shahrastān, Ardabīl, Hamadhān, al-Ahwāz, Shīrāz, as-Sīrajān,[3] al-Manṣūrah, Zabīd, Makkah, Baghdād, al-Mauṣil, Dimashq, al-Fusṭāṭ, al-Qairawān and Qurṭubah. The remaining capitals of districts are seventy-seven:[4]—Bunjikat,[5] Numūjkat,[6] Balkh, Ghaznīn,[7] Bust, 48.

[1] Of the Peninsula, Makkah and Zabīd; of al-Mashriq, Samarqand in Transoxiana and Īrānshahr in Khurāsān; of al-Maghrib, al-Qairawān [Cyrene] on the African side and Qurṭubah [Cordova] in al-Andalus.

[2] Of the seventeen metropolises nine bear similar names to the districts wherein they are situated; the eight which differ in name are Samarqand, Īrānshahr, Shahrastān, Ardabīl, al-Manṣūrah, al-Fusṭāṭ, al-Qairawān and Qurṭubah, the capitals respectively of the districts of aṣ-Ṣughd, Naisābūr, Jurjān, Adharbaijān, as-Sind, Maqadūniyah, Ifrīqiyah and al-Andalus.

[3] As-Sīrajān or as-Sīrjān.

[4] The remaining district capitals are sixty-seven, *not* seventy-seven; the list contains however sixty-two names only. The five capitals omitted here are Akhsīkat, Asbījāb or Isbījāb, and Binkath, in Transoxiana, and Ṣuḥār and al-Aḥsā' in the Peninsula of the Arabs.

[5] The name is also written Bunjikath and Būnjikath. (*Text*, p. 277.)

[6] Indifferently written Numūjkat and Numūjkath; so also are all the towns having this termination. [7] Called also Ghaznah and Ghaznī.

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Zaranj, Harāt, Qāyin, Marw, al-Yahūdiyyah, ad-Dāmaghān, Āmul, Barwān, Itil, Bardha'ah,[1] Dabīl, ar-Raiy, al-Yahūdiyyah, as-Sūs, Jundaisābūr, Tustar, al-'Askar,[2] ad-Dauraq, Rāma-hurmuz, Arrajān, Sīrāf, Darābajird,[3] Shahrastān, Iṣṭakhr, Ardashīr,[4] Narmāsīr, Bamm, Jīraft, Bannajbūr,[5] Quzdār,[6] Waihind,[7] Qannauj, al-Multān, Ṣanā', al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, Wāsiṭ, Ḥulwān, Sāmarrā, Āmid, ar-Raqqah, Ḥalab, Ḥimṣ, Ṭabariyyah, ar-Ramlah, Ṣughar, al-Faramā, Bilbais, al-'Abbāsiyyah, Iskandariyyah, Uswān, Barqah, Balarm, Tāhart, Fās, Sijilmāsah and Ṭarfānah.[8]

We shall now mention the towns that surround the capitals, naming first the chamberlain and following up with the troops. Anything not understood may be searched for in the province where it is found.

Akhsīkat,—Naṣrābādh, Ranjad, Zārakān, Khairalām, Washabshān,[9] Ushtīqān, Zandarāmish,[10] Ūzkand,[11] Ūsh, Qubā, Birink, Marghīnān, Rishtān, Bāb,[12] Jārak, Ushṭ,[13] Tūbakār, Ūwāl, Dakarkard, Nauqād,[14] Muskān, Bīkān, Ashkhīkhān (?),[15] Jidghil, Shāwadān, Khujandah. Isbījāb,[16]—Khauralūgh, Jamshalāghū, Usbānīkat,[17] Bārāb, Shāwaghar, Saurān, Turār Zarākh,[18] Shaghlajān, Bālāj,[19] Barūkat, Barūkh, Yakānkath, Adhakhkat, Dih-Nūjīkat,[20] Ṭarāz, Bāluwā,[21] Jikil, Barsakhān or Barsukhān,

1 The text has incorrectly Marāghah here. Bardha'ah is the capital of ar-Rān (*Text*, p. 374), Marāghah a town in Armīniyyah.

2 'Askar Mukram. 3 Commonly written Dūrābajird or Dārābjird.

4 The capital of Kirmān is also called Bardashīr, a contraction of Beh Ardashīr. Its ancient Persian name was Guwāshīr, arabicized into Kuwāshīr. See *Géo d' Aboulf*, II. 102 and *n* 5.

5 It is also called Fannazbūr in the text. 6 Also written Quṣdār.

7 Variously called Waihind, Waihand, Wīhind and Wīhand.

8 Probably a corruption of *Ṭarqalah*.

9 In the description of al-Mushriq it is called Bashabshān.

10 Also called Zarandarāmish. (*Text*, p. 262.) 11 Arabicized form of Ūzgand.

12 Bāb Akhsīkat.

13 Probably Ūrasht. Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 395) has Ūrast.

14 Commonly Naqād.

15 The word is uncertain. Written اشحلحان in the text.

16 Isbījāb or Asbījāb. 17 Also called Arsubānīkath.

18 Turār Zarākh is the name of a town; Zarākh alone that of a village in the same district.

19 Called likewise Balāj and Balāk. 20 Also called Dih or Dah-Nūjikath.

21 Also called Bahlū (*Text*, p. 275.)

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Uṭlugh, Jamūkat, Shiljī,[1] Kūl, Sūs, Takābkath, Balāsakūn,[2] Labān, Shūy, Abāligh, Mādānkath, Barsiyān, Balgh, Jikarkān, Yagh, Yakāligh, Rawānjam, Katāk, Shūr Jashmah,[3] Dil Awās, Jarkard. Binkat,—Nukkath, Jīnānjakath, Najākath, Banākath, Kharashkath, Gharjand, Ghannāj, Jamūzan,[4] Warduk, Kabarnah, Namadwānak, Nūjakat, Ghazak, Anūdhkath,[5] Bishkat, Barkūsh, Khātūnkath, Jīghūkath, Farankad, Kadāk, Nakālak, Tall Ūsh, **49.** Ghuzkard, Zarānkath, Darwā, Faradkath, Ajakh. Of the dependencies of Binkath is Īlāq, the capital of which is Tūnkath, with the towns of Shāwakath, Bānakhāsh, Nūkath, Bālāyān, Arbilakh, Namūdhalagh, Khumrak, Sīkath, Kuhsīm,[6] Adakhkath, Khās, Khujākath, Gharjand, Sām-Sirak, Biskath. Bunjikath,—Arsubānīkath, Kurdakath, Ghazaq, Sābāṭ, Zāmīn, Dīzak,[7] Nūjakath, Dizah,[8] Kharaqānah, Khisht, Qaṭawān,[9] Marsamandah. Numūjakath,—Baikand,[10] aṭ-Ṭawāwīs, Zandanah, Bamijkath, Khudīmankan, 'Urwān,[11] Bakhsūn,[12] Sīkath, Aryāmīthan,[13] Warakhshā,[14] Zarmīthan, Kamajkath, Faghārsīn,[15] Kashafghan, Nawīdak, Warkā. The dependency of Kish contains the towns of Nauqad-Quraish, Sūnaj and Askīfaghan. Nasaf,[16] another dependency, has the towns of Kasbah, Bazdah and Sīrakath. Samarqand,—Bunjikath, Waraghsar,[17] Abghar, Kushānī,[18] Ishtīkhan, Dabūsiyah, Karmīniyah, Rabinjān,[19] Qaṭawānah.

On the Jaiḥūn are:—the territory of Khuttal; the chief city is Hulbuk, and the towns are Marand, Andījāragh, Halāward, Lāwakand, Kārbank, Tamliyāt, Iskandarah, Munk, Fārghar and Bank. The towns of Tirmidh, Kālif, Zamm, Nawīdah, Āmul and

[1] Shiljī or Shaljī.

[2] Also called Walāsakūn. The Persian *g* is generally written *gh* or *j* in Arabic, rarely *k*; hence the name of this town is more commonly written *Balāsāghūn*.

[3] Evidently *Shor Chashma*, the Salt Spring. [4] Jamūzan or Jabūzan.

[5] Probably *Izadkath*. [6] *Koh-i-Sīm*, the Mountain or Hill of Silver.

[7] Or Dizak. [8] The name of this town is Qaṭawān-Dizah, incorrectly split here into two separate names. (See *Text*, p. 265.)

[9] See the above note. [10] Or Bīkand. [11] Probably Ghurdān.

[12] Also called Wakhsūn. [13] Also called Riyāmīthan.

[14] Also called Barakhshā. [15] Probably Faghdasīn.

[16] Also called Nakhshab. [17] Or Ra'su-l-Waragh.

[18] The name is also written al-Kushāniyah.

[19] Or Rabinjan.

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Farabr.[1] The district of aṣ-Ṣaghāniyān which contains the towns of Dārazanjī, Bāsand, Sankardah, Bahām, Zīnūr, Rīkdasht,[2] ash-Shūmān, Quwādiyān, Andiyān,[3] Dastajird[4] and Hanbān. Khuwārizm ;[5] its capital on the Haiṭal side is Kāt,[6] and the towns are Ghardamān, Wāyakhān, Ardhakhīwah, Naukafāgh,[7] Kardar,[8] Mazdākhqān,[9] Jashīrah, Sadūr, Zardūkh, Qaryat-Barātakīn and Madkamīniyyah. The capital of Khuwārizm on the side of Khurāsān is al-Jurjāniyyah, and the towns are Nauzuwār, Zamakhshar, Rūzawand, Zārmand,[10] Daskākhān-Khās, Khushmīthan, Madāmīthan,[11] Khīwah, Kardarānkhās, Hazār-asf,[12] Jiqarwand,[13] Sadfar, Ḥarāsah, Jāz, Darghān and Jīt.

Balkh,—Ushfūrqān,[14] Salīm, Karkū,[15] Jāh,[16] Madhr, Barwāz. The dependency of Ṭukhāristān contains the towns of Walwālij, aṭ-Ṭālaqān,[17] Khulm, Gharbank, Siminjān, Iskalkand, Rūb,[18] Baghlān
50. al-'Ulyā or the upper, Baghlān as-Suflā or the lower, Askīmisht, Rāwan, Ārhan, Andarāb[19] and Sarāe-'Āṣim. The territory of al-Bāmiyān ; its towns: Basghūrfand, Saqāwand,[20] Lakhrāb, Badhakhshān, Banjahīr,[21] Jārbāyah,[22] Barwān.[23] Ghaznī,[24]—Kardīs,[25] Sakāwand, Nawah, Bardan, Damrākhī, Ḥashsh-Bārah,[26] Farmul, Sarhūn, Lajrā, Khuwāsht-Ghurāb,[27] Zāwah, Kāwīl, Kābul, Lamghān, Būdan,[28] Lahūkar. It has the dependency of Wālish-

1 Farabr or Firabr. 2 Evidently *Reg Dasht*, the Sandy Desert.

3 Not mentioned again by our author. Al-Iṣṭakhrī places it between Shūmān and Wāshjird, at one day's journey from each.

4 This is the *Wāshjird* of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal. Dastajird is evidently an error for Wāshjird.

5 Khuwārizm or Khuwārazm. It is, however, more generally written Khwārazm. 6 Or Kāth. 7 Also called Naukabāgh, the letters *f* and *b* being interchangeable. 8 Kardar or Kurdar.

9 Or Mazdākhkān. 10 At page 287 of the text, this town is called Wazārmand and at page 344 Ūzārmand. Zārmand is most probably an error of the copyist. 11 Probably Madrāmīthan.

12 Also called Hazār-asb. 13 The name is also written Jikarband.

14 Also called Shabūrqān and Ushbūrqān. 15 Karkū or Karkūh.

16 Also called Jā and Kah. 17 This town is also called aṭ-Ṭāyaqān.

18 Rūb or Ru'b. 19 Also called Andarābah. 20 Or Sakāwand.

21 Also called 'Askar Banjahīr. 22 Or Kārbāyah.

23 Barwān or Farwān (Parwān). 24 The same as Ghaznīn.

25 The name is also written Kardīz. 26 Or Ḥashsh-Bārī.

27 At page 296 of the text it is called *Khuwāst* without the addition of *Ghurāb*.

28 Probably Būzan.

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tān ; [1] its towns: Afshīn,[2] Asbīdajah,[3] Mastank, Shāl, Sakīrah, Sīwah. Bust,—Jālaqān,[4] Bān, Qarmah, Būzād, Dāwar, Sarwistān,[5] Qaryatu-l-Jauz, Rakhūd or Rakhwad, Bakrāwādh,[6] Banjawāy,[7] Ṭalqān. Zaranj,—Kuwain,[8] Zanbūk,[9] Farah, Darhind, Qarnīn, Kawārabwādh, Bāranwādh, Kizah,[10] Sinj, Bābu-ṭ-Ṭa'ām, Karwādikan, Nih, aṭ-Ṭāq. Harāt,—Karūkh, Aubah,[11] Mālin as-Safalqāt,[12] Khaisār, Astarbiyān, Mārābādh Its dependencies are:—Būshanj, which contains the towns of Kharkard, Faljard,[13] Kūsūy and Karah ; Bādhaghīs, with the towns of Dihistān, Kūghanābādh,[14] Kūfā, Busht, Jādhāwā,[15] Kābrūn, Kālyūn [16] and Jabalu-l-Fiḍḥah ;[17] Kanj Rustāq, with the towns of Baban,[18] Kaif and Bagh ;[19] Asfuzār or Asfizār with the towns of Kuwāshān, Kuwārān, Kūshak and Adraskar. The capital of the territory of Ghārjistān is Abshīn ; it contains also the towns of Shūramīn, Balīkān and Astabūn (?).[20] Al-Yahūdiyyah,—Anbār,[21] Barzūr, Fārayāb, Kalān, al-Jurzuwān.[22] Marw,—Kharaq, Hurmuzfarrah, Bāshān, Sanjān, Sausaqān, Ṣahbah, Kīrank,[23] Sink-'Abbādī, Dandānaqān. Its dependency is Marw ar-Rūdh, containing the towns of Qaṣr Aḥnaf and Ṭālaqān. Here is also the town of Sarakhs. Qāyin,—Tūn, Khaust, Khūr, Kurī, Ṭabas,[24] ar-Raqqah, Yunāwid,[25] Sanāwadh,[26] Ṭabas as-Suflā,[27] or the lower.

1 The word Wālishtān is omitted in the text.

2 Variously written Afshīn, Abshīn and Bashīn. 3 Also called Asbījah.

4 The name is also written Jahālakān or Jahālikān. 5 Or Ṣarwistān.

6 Written also Bakrawādh and Bakrābādh. 7 Banjawāy or Fanjawāy.

8 Also called Juwain. 9 Also Zānbūq. 10 Written also Jizah.

11 Or Aufah. 12 This Mālin is called Mālin as-Safalqāt to distinguish it from Mālin of Bākharz, in the district of Naisābūr. 13 Or Farkard.

14 The name is also written Kūghūnābādh. 15 Or Jādhawā.

16 Also called Kālwūn. 17 'The Mountain or Hill of Silver.'

18 Also called Babnah. 19 The name of this town is Bagh Shūr, also written Baghshūr. 20 The word is uncertain ; written اسدون in the text.

21 Also called Qaṣru-l-Amīr. 22 The name is also written al-Kurzuwān.

23 Also called Jīranj. 24 Ṭabasu-l-'Unnāb.

25 Variously called Yunāwid, Yunābid or Yunābidh, and Junābid.

26 The place is not again mentioned by our author. Al-Iṣṭakhrī who is followed by Ibn Ḥauqal, calls it Sanābādh, and describes it as a village at about a quarter of a *farsakh* from Nūqān which forms part of the city of Ṭūs. Here is the shrine of 'Alī ar-Riḍhā, son of Mūsā al-Kāḍhim. Ibn Ḥauqal adds that over this place rises a strong and impregnable fortress.

27 Ṭabasu-t-Tamr.

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Īrānshahr,—Būzjān, Zūzan, Ṭurthīth,[1] Sābzawār,[2] Khusrūjird, Azādhwār, Khūjān, Rīwand, Māzul, Mālīn,[3] Jājarm. Its
51. emporia are: 1° Ṭūs which has aṭ-Ṭābarān,[4] for its capital; of towns it has an-Nūqān, ar-Rādakān,[5] Junābid,[6] Ustūrqān, Turūghbadh; 2° Nasā; its towns, Isfīnaqān, as-Sarmaqān,[7] Farāwah,[8] Shahristānah;[9] and 3° Abīward; its towns, Mahanah,[10] Kūfan.

Ad-Dāmaghān,—Bisṭām, Mughūn, Simnān, Zaghnah, Biyār. Shahrastān,—Ābaskūn, Alham or Alhum, Astārābādh,[11] Ākhur, ar-Ribāṭ, Āmul, Sālūs, Sāriyah, Mīlah, Māmaṭīr,[12] Burjā, Ṭamīs,[13] Harī, Būd, Mamṭīr, Nāmiyah, Tamīsah.[14] Barwān,—Walāmir, Shakīraz, Tāram or Tārim, Khashm. Its dependency, al-Jīl; towns, Dūlāb, Bailamān, Shahr, Kuhan-Rūdh. Itil.—Bulghār, Samandar, Suwār, Baghand, Qaishawā, al-Baiḍhā', Khamlīj, Balanjar.

Bardha'ah,—Taflīs or Tiflīs, al-Qal'ah,[15] Khunān, Shamkūr, Janzah, Bardīj, ash-Shamākhiyah, Sharwān or Shirwān, Bākūh, ash-Shābarān, Bābu-l-Abwāb,[16] al-Abkhāz, Qabalah, Shakkī, Malāzkird, Tablā. Dabīl,—Badlīs, Khilāṭ,[17] Arjīsh,[18] Barkarī, Khuwaiy, Salamās, Urmiyah,[19] Dākharraqān,[20] Marāghah, Ahr, Marand, Sanjān or Sinjān, Qālīqalā. Ardabīl,—Rasbah, Tabrīz or Tibrīz, Jābarwān, al-Mayānij,[21] as-Sarāt, Warthān, Mūqān,[22] Mīmadh, Barzand.

Ar-Raiy,—Qumm, Āwah, Sāwah, Āwah, Qazwīn, Abhar, Zanjān, Shalanbah, Waimah. Hamadhān,—Asadābādh, Ṭazar, Qarmāsīn,[23] Sabah, Rāman or Rāmin, Wabah, Sīrāwand. It has several great dependencies, without towns, such as, Nahāwand,[24] with the town of Rūdhrāwar; Karaj-Abī-Dulaf, with

1 Also called Ṭuraithīth.
2 The name is also written Sauzawār.
3 This Mālīn is known as Mālīn Kuwākharz.
4 Also called Ṭabarān.
5 Also called Rāyakān.
6 Or Junāwidh.
7 Also called Jarmaqān.
8 Or Afrāwah.
9 Also written Shāristānah.
10 Or Maihanah.
11 Or Astarābādh.
12 Māmaṭīr or Mamṭīr.
13 Also called Ṭamīsah.
14 Or Tamīshah.
15 Qal'at Ibn Kandumān.
16 Called also al-Bāb simply.
17 The name is also written Akhlāṭ.
18 Also written Arjīj.
19 Also called Urūmiyah.
20 Also called Kharraqān.
21 Also called Miyānah.
22 Or Mūghkān.
23 Also known as Karmān-Shāhān.
24 Nahāwand is also known as Māh al-Baṣrah.

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another Karaj ; Marj ; Barūjird ;[1] aṣ-Ṣaimarah,[2] without towns; ad-Dīnawar,[3] without towns; and Shahrazūr..... Al-Yahūdiyyah,—al-Madīnah,[4] Khālanjān,[5] ar-Ribāṭ, Lūrdakān,[6] Sumairam, Yazd, Nāyin,[7] Niyāstānah,[8] Ardistān, Qāshān.

As-Sūs,—al-Bidhān, Baṣinnā, Bairūt, Qaryatu-r-Raml, Karkhah. Jundaisābūr,—al-Diz, ar-Rūnāsh, Bāyūh, Qāḍhibīn, al-Lūr. I have seen no town whatever in the district of Tustar. Al-'Askar,—Jūbak, Zaidān, Sūq ath-Thalāthā' (Tuesday-market), Ḥubk-dhū-Qurṭum. Al-Ahwāz,—Nahr Tīrā, Jūzdak, Bīrūh, Sūq al-Arba'ā' 52.
(Wednesday-market), Ḥiṣn Mahdī, Bāsiyān, Shūrāb, Bandam,[9] Dauraq, Khān Ṭauq, Sanah,[10] Manādhiru-ṣ-Sughrā. Ad-Dauraq,—Azam,[11] Bakhsābādh, al-Diz, Andabār, Āzar, Jubbā, Mīrāqiyān, Mīrāthiyān. Rāmahurmuz,—Sanbil, Īdhaj, Tīram, Bāzank, Lādh, Ghārwah, Bāfaj,[12] Kūzūk.

Arrajān,—Qūstān, Dāriyān, Mahrūbān,[13] Jannābah, Sīnīz, Balāsābūr, Hinduwān. Sīrāf,—Jūr, Mīmand, Nāband, aṣ-Ṣīmakān, Khabr, Khawaristān, al-Ghundijān, Kurān, Samīrān, Zīrabādh, Najīram, Nāband-Dūn or the lower, Sūrā,[14] Rās Kishm. Darābajird,—Ṭabastān or Ṭabistān, al-Kurdibān, Kurm, Yazdakhawāst,[15] Rustāqu-r-Rustāq, Burk, Azbarāh, Sinān, Juwaim-Abī-

[1] Barūjird is not again mentioned. Al-Iṣṭakhrī places it on the road between Rāmin and Karaj-Abī-Dulaf, at a distance of 14 *farsakhs* from the former and 10 from the latter. He describes it as a place of fertility and great natural abundance, of about half a *farsakh* in length with a lesser breadth. Its fruits are exported to al-Karaj and other places; it also produces saffron. It was first raised to the rank of a town with a *mimbar* by Ḥamūlah ibn 'Alī, the minister of the Abū Dulaf Family.

[2] Aṣ-Ṣaimarah is also called Mihrijānqadhaq or Mihrijānqadhaf.

[3] The same as Māh al-Kūfah. [4] Madīnat Iṣfahān.

[5] Also called Khūlanjān and Khān Lanjan.

[6] It is called al-Lūrjān in al Iṣṭakhrī, who describes as the chief town of as-Sardan, one of the *rustāqs* of the district of Iṣṭakhr, in Fāris.

[7] Not again mentioned. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, who calls it Nā'in, describes it as a town in Yazd, one of the *rustāqs* of the district of Iṣṭakhr, in Fāris. It is at a distance of 45 *farsakhs* from Iṣfahān, on the outskirts of the desert, and possesses the only mine of silver throughout Fāris.

[8] Yāqūt, who calls it Niyāstar, describes it as a fortress between Qāshān and Qumm. See *Mu'jamu-l-Buldān*, IV. 854. [9] Also called Mandam.

[10] Or Wasnah. [11] The name is also written Ajam.

[12] Also written Bābaj. [13] Or Mahrubān.

[14] Called also Sīrū and Sūrū.

[15] Or, according to the Persian pronunciation, Yazdakhāst.

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Aḥmad, al-Iṣbahānāt. Shīrāz,—al-Baiḍhā', Fasā, al-Maṣṣ, Kūl, Jūr, Kārazīn, Dasht-Bārīn, Jamm, Jūbak, Jamkān, Kūrd,[1] Bajjah, Hazār,[2] Abak. Shahrastān,—Darīz, Kāzarūn, Khurrah, an-Nūbandajān, Kāriyān, Kundurān, Tawwaz, Rammu-l-Akrād, Junbadh,[3] Khasht. Iṣṭakhr,—Harāt, Maibudh, Mā'īn, al-Fahraj, al-Ḥīrah, Sarwastān,[4] Usbānjān,[5] Bawwān,[6] Shahr-Bātiq, Ūrd,[7] ar-Rūn, Dih Ushturān,[8] Khurramah, Tark-Nīshān,[9] Ṣāhah.

Bardasīr,—Māhān, Kūghūn, Zarand, Janzarūdh, Kūh-Bayān, Qawāf, Zāwar, Unās, Khūnāwab, Ghubairā, Kārishtān. Its dependency, Khabīṣ; towns, Nashak, Kashīd, Kūk, Katharwā. Isolated towns, Janzarūdh, Firzīn, Nājit, Khair, Marzuqān, as-Sūraqān, Maghūn, Jairūqān. As-Sīrajān,—Bīmand, ash-Shāmāt, Wājib, Bazūrak, Khūr, Dasht-Barīn,[10] Kashīstān. Narmāsīr,—Bāhir, Karak, Raikān, Nasā, Dārjin.[11] Bamm,—Dārzhīn, Ṭūshtān, Awārak, Mihrikird, Rāyin, Mā'īn, Rā'īn. Jīraft or Jīruft,—Bās, Jakīn, Manūqān, Darahqān, Juwī-Sulaimān,[12] Kūh-Bārjān, Ḳūhistān, [13] Maghūn, Jawāwan, Walāshjird, Rūdhakān, Darfānī.[14]

Bannajbūr,—Mashkah,[15] Kīj,[16] Sarī-Shahr, Barbūr, Khuwāsh,[17] Damandān, Jālak,[18] Dazak, Dasht-'Alī, at-Tīz, Kabartūn, Rāsak, Bih, Band, Qaṣr-Qand, Aṣfaqah, Fahal-Fahrah, Qanbalā, Armā'īl. Waihind,—Qāmuhul, Kanbāyah, Sūbārah....., Ūrihah, Zahū, Har, Barhīrawā. Quzdār,—Qandābīl,[19] Bajathrad, Jathrad,[20]
53. Bakānān, Khūzī, Rustākuhan, Mūrdān,[21] Rūdh, Māsakān, Kahar-kūr, Maḥālī, Kīzkānān, Sūrah, Quṣdār. Al-Manṣūrah,—Daibul, Zandarāyij,[22] Kadar,[23] Māyil, Tanbalī, Bīrūn, Qāllarī, [24] Annarī,

1 Also written Kurd.

2 At page 458 of the text it is called Azār-Sābūr.

3 Called Junbadh-Mallaghān. 4 Also called Sarwasīr.

5 The name is also written al-Usbanjān.

6 This Bawwān is called Bawwān Kirmān, *i.e.*, Bawwān of Kirmān, to distinguish it from the celebrated town of Bawwān, in the district of Sābūr.

7 Or Urd. 8 'The Village of Camels,' called also by its Arabic name *Qaryatu-l-Jimāl*. 9 Called also Ṭarkhnīshān.

10 At page 471 of the text it is called Dasht Bar.

11 The name is also written Dārzhīn. 12 Or Nahr Sulaimān.

13 Qūhistān (or Quhistān) Abī Ghānim.

14 The name is also written Darbānī. 15 Or Mashkā.

16 Also called Kīs. 17 Also written Khuwāṣ. 18 Or Jālaq.

19 Or Qandabīl. 20 The name is also written Kathrad,

21 Also written Damūrdān. 22 Also called Zandarīj.

23 Or Kadār. 24 Or Qallarī.

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Ballarī, al-Maswāhī, al-Bahrāj,[1] Bāniyah, Manḥātarī, ar-Rūr, Sūbārah, Kīnās,[2] Ṣaimūr.[3]

Zabīd,—Ma'qir. Kadrah, Mahjam, Maur, 'Aṭanah, ash-Sharjah,[4] Ghalāfiqah, Mukhā, al-Ḥirdah, al-Juraib, al-Las'ah, Sharmah, al-'Ashīrah, Ranqah, al-Khaṣūf, as-Sā'id, al-Jaradah, al-Ḥamiḍhah. The dependency of 'Aththar; towns, Baish, al-Juraib, Ḥaly, as-Sirrain. Ṣan'a',—Ṣa'dah, Najrān, Jurash, al-'Urf, Jublān, al-Janad, Dhamār or Dhimār, Nasafān, Yaḥṣib, as-Suḥūl,[5] al-Mudhaikhirah, Khaulān. Makkah,—Minā, Amaj, al-Juḥfah, al-Fur', Jabalah, Mahāyi', Ḥādhah, aṭ-Ṭā'if, Baldah.[6] The dependency of Yathrib; towns, Badr, al-Jār, Yanbu', al-'Ushairah, al-Ḥaurā', al-Marwah, Suqyā-Yazīd, Khaibar. The dependency of Qurḥ; capital, Wādi-l-Qurā; towns, al-Ḥijr,[7] al-'Aunīd, Badā-Ya'qūb, Ḍhabbah, an-Nabk. Ṣuḥār,—Nazwah, as-Sirr, Ḍhank, Ḥafīt, Dabā, Salūt, Jullafār, Samad, Lasyā, Milaḥ. The dependency of Mahrah; towns, ash-Shiḥr,...The dependency of al-Aḥqāf; chief town, Ḥaḍhramaut. The dependency of Sabā. The dependency of al-Yamāmah. Al-Aḥsā',—az-Zarqā', Sābūn, Uwāl, al-'Uqair.

Al-Baṣrah,—al-Ubullah, Nahru-d-Dair,[8] Maṭārā,[9] Madhār, Nahr Zabān, Badrān, Bayān, Nahru-l-Amīr, Nahru-l-Qadīm, 'Abbādān, Abu-l-Khaṣīb, Nahr-Dubbā, al-Muṭṭawwi'ah, al-Qindal,[10] al-Maftaḥ, al-Ja'fariyyah. Al-Kūfah,—Ḥammām 'Umar,[11] al-Jāmi'ain, Sūrā, an-Nīl, al-Qādisiyyah, 'Ainu-t-Tamr. Baghdād,—Baradān, an-Nahrawān, Kārah, ad-Daskarah, Ṭarāstān, Hārūniyyah, Jalūlā, Bājisrā, Bāqubah, Buwahriz, Kalwādhā, Darzījān, al-Madā'in, Asbānabr, Gīl,[12] Sīb, Dairu-l-'Āqūl, an-Nu'māniyyah, Jabbul,

[1] Or al-Bahraj. [2] Also written Kīnāṣ. [3] Also called Saimūr.

[4] The same as *Mikhlāf* Marsā-sh-Sharjah. [5] Also called Suḥūlā.

[6] Not again mentioned. Yāqūt has a *Baldah* which he describes as one of the towns situated on the shore of the Sea of Syria, *i.e.*, the Mediterranean, in the vicinity of Jabalah. It has been in ruins since the time of Mu'āwiyah. Makkah is sometimes called al-Baldah with reference to Qur'ān, XXXIV. 14.

[7] Ḥijr Ṣāliḥ. [8] Nahru-d-Dair, according to Yāqūt (IV. 839), is a large canal, between al-Baṣrah and Maṭārā, about twenty *farsakhs* distant from the former. It was called Nahru-d-Dair, 'the canal of the Monastery,' from a monastery that stood at its mouth called Dairu-d-Dihdār. Here is a pleasant little town where most of the porcelain vases found in al-Baṣrah and its neighbourhood are manufactured. [9] Also written Maṭārah.

[10] Also al-Qindalah. [11] Ḥammām Ibn 'Umar.

[12] Also written Jīl.

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'Abartā, Bābil, Qaṣr Hubairah,[1] 'Abdas, Nahrawā.[2] Wāsiṭ,—Famu-ṣ-Ṣilḥ, Nahr Sābus, Darmakān, Bādhibīn, Qurāqubah, Siyādah, as-Sikr, Qurqūf,[3] aṭ-Ṭīb, Lahbān, al-Basāmiyah, Ūdisah. The dependency of al-Baṭā'ih; capital, aṣ-Ṣalīq; towns, Jāmidah, Hurār, al-Ḥaddādiyyah, az-Zubaidiyyah. Ḥulwān,—Khāniqīn, Zabūjān, al-Marj,[4] Shalāshilān, al-Jāmid, al-Ḥurr, as-Sirawān,
54 Bandanijān.[5] Sāmarrā,—al-Karkh, 'Ukbarā, ad-Dūr, al-Jāmi'ain, Batt, Rādhānāt,[6] Qaṣru-l-Jaṣṣ, Ḥarī, Aiwānā, Barīqā, Sindiyyah, Rāqafrūbah, Dimimmā, al-Anbār, Hīt, Takrīt or Tikrīt, as-Sinn.

Al-Mauṣil,—Nūnawā,[7] al-Ḥadīthah, Ma'lathāya,[8] al-Ḥasaniyyah, Talla'far,[9] Sinjār, al-Jibāl, Balad, Adhramah, Barqa'id, Naṣībīn, Dārā, Kafartūthā, Ra'su-l-'Ain, Thamānīn. Āmid,—Mayyāfāriqīn, Tall Fāfān, Ḥiṣn Kaifā, al-Fār, Ḥādhiyah. Ar-Raqqah,—al-Muḥtariqah, ar-Rāfiqah, Khānūqah, al-Ḥarīsh, Tall Maḥrā, Bājarwān, Ḥiṣn Maslamah, Tar'ūz, Ḥarrān, ar-Ruhā, Of dependencies are the following: Jazīrat-Ibn-'Umar; towns. Faishābūr, Bā'aināthā, al-Mughīthah, az-Zawazān. Sarūj; towns, Kafarzāb, Kafarsīrīn. Al-Furāt; chief city, Qarqīsiyā; towns, ar-Raḥbah,[10] ad-Dāliyah, 'Ānah, al-Ḥadīthah. Al-Khābūr; chief city, 'Arābān; towns, al-Ḥuṣain, ash-Shamsīniyyah, Mīkisīn, Sukairu-l-'Abbās, al-Khaishah, as-Sakīniyyah, at-Tunānīr.

Ḥalab,—Anṭākiyah, Bālis, Sumaisāṭ, al-Ma'arratain,[11] Manbij, Bayyās, at-Tīnāt, Qinnasrīn, as-Suwaidiyyah. Ḥimṣ,—Salamiyyah, Tadmur, al-Khunāṣirah, Kafarṭāb, al-Lādhiqiyyah, Jabalah, Jubail,[12] Anṭarsūs, Bulunyās, Ḥiṣnu-l-Khawābī, Lajjūn, Rafaniy-

[1] Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah. [2] A contraction from Nahr Abbā, a canal in the neighbourhood of Baghdād called after Abbā, son of aṣ-Ṣamghān, the Nabathæan, the person who dug it.

[3] Also written Qurqūb. [4] Marj al-Qal'ah. [5] Or Bandanījān

[6] Or Radhānāt. [7] Also called Ninawā.

[8] The name is also written Ma'lathāyā. [9] Also written Tall A'far.

[10] Known as Raḥbat-Ibn-Ṭauq. [11] Ma'arratu-n-Nu'mān and Ma'arrat Qinnasrīn. [12] Yāqūt (II. 34), mentions a place called *al-Jubail*, the Little Mountain, as being in the neighbourhood of Ḥimṣ. He also mentions a town called *Jubail*, near the sea-coast of Syria, at eight *farsakhs* to the east of Bairūt. In 496 of the Hijrah, the town of Jubail was besieged and reduced by Ṣanjīl, the Franc, as Yāqūt calls him. It remained in the possession of the Francs for about ninety years, till re-taken by Ṣalāḥu-d-Dīn in 583 H. Ṣalāḥu-d-Dīn placed in it a garrison of Kurds, but ten years after these very Kurds sold it to the Francs and went whither no one knows. At the time of Yāqūt, it was still in the hands of the Francs.

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yah, Jūsiyah, Ḥamāh, Shaizar, Wādī Buṭnān. Dimashq,—Dārayyā, Bāniyās, Ṣaidā, Bairūt, 'Arqah, Aṭrābulus,[1] az-Zabadānī. The dependency of al-Biqā'; chief city, Ba'labakk; towns, Kāmid, 'Arjamūsh. Ṭabariyyah,—Baisān, Adhri'āt, Qadas, Kābul, al-Lajjūn, 'Akkā, Ṣūr, al-Farādhiyah. Ar-Ramlah,—Baitu-l-Maqdis, Bait-Jibrīl, Ghazzah, 'Asqalān, Yāfah, Arsūf, Qaisāriyyah, Nābulus, Arīḥā', 'Ammān. Ṣughar,—Wailah,[2] 'Ainūnā,[3] Madyan,[4] Tabūk, Adhruḥ, Ma'āb, Mu'ān.

Al-Faramā,—al-Baqqārah, al-Warrādah, al-'Arīsh, Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ, Shaṭā, Dabqū. Al-'Abbāsiyyah,—Shubrū-wāzah,[5] Damanhūr, Sanhūr, Banhā-l-'Asal, Shaṭnūf, Malīj, Damīrah, Būrah, Daqahlah, Sanhūr,[6] Barīs,[7] Sandafā,[8] and seven other towns known each by the name of *Maḥallah*.[9] Bilbais,—Mashtūl, Fāqūs, **55.** Jurjīr, Ṣandafā, Banhā-l-'Asal, Damīrā,[10] Ṭūkh,[11] Ṭantathanā which is the same as Dair Naṭāy.[12] Al-Iskandariyyah,—ar-Rashīd, Maḥallat-Ḥafṣ, Dhātu-l-Ḥumām, Barullus. Al-Fusṭāṭ,—al-Jazīrah, al-Jīzah, al-Qāhirah, al-'Azīziyyah, 'Ain-Shams, Bahnā,[13] al-Maḥallah,[14] Sandafā, Damanhūr, Ḥulwān, al-Qulzum. Uswān,—Qūṣ, Ikhmīm, Bulyanā, Ṭahā, Sumusṭā, Būṣīr,[15] Ushmūnain, Ajma'. The dependency of al-Fayyūm.

Barqah,—Ramādah, Aṭrābulus,[16] Ajdābiyah, as-Sūs,[17] Ṣabrah, Qābis, Ghāfiq. Balarm,—al-Khālishah, Aṭrābinsh, Māzar, 'Ainu-l-Mughaṭṭā, Qal'atu-l-Ballūṭ, Jirjant, Buthīrah, Saraqūsah, Lantīnī,

1 Also called Ṭarābulus. 2 Also called Ailah.

3 Called 'Ain Unā in Yāqūt; see *Mu'jamu-l-Buldān*, III. 764.

4 Madyan Shu'aib. 5 Called also Shubrū simply.

6 Sanhūr aṣ-Sughrā, or the lesser.

7 The word is uncertain. Written برنس in the text.

8 Also written Ṣandafā. 9 Of the seven Maḥallahs six are mentioned in the description of Egypt, namely, Maḥallat Sidr, Maḥallat Karmīn, al-Maḥallatu-l-Kabīrah, Maḥallat Zaid, Maḥallat Ḥafṣ and Maḥallat Ziyād.

10 The same as Damīrah. 11 This Ṭūkh is known as Ṭūkh Mazyad (Yāqūt, III. 556). Yāqūt mentions two other villages called Ṭūkh, in Upper Egypt. 12 Ṭantathanā or Dair Naṭāy is the Ṭandatā of Ibn Ḥauqal and the modern Ṭanṭā. Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 92) describes it as a large pleasant village with a pretty mosque, a bath and market-places. It is surrounded by a number of hamlets and has a sub-governor attended by a personal guard of horse and foot. 13 Bahnā, Bahnayā or Bahnāyah.

14 Al-Maḥallatu-l-Kabīrah. 15 Also called Būṣīr Qurīdus.

16 The name is also written Ṭarābulus.

17 The *Marsa Susa* of Keith Johnston, plate 37 Lb.

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Qaṭāniyah, Alyāj, Faṭarnuwā,[1] Ṭabarmīn, Mīqush, Massīnah, Rimṭah, Damannash, Jārās, Qal'atu-l-Qawārib, Qal'atu-ṣ-Ṣirāṭ, Qal'at-Abī-Thaur, Baṭarliyah, Thirmah, Būrqād, Qurliyūn, Qarīnash, Barṭīnīq, Akhyās, Baljah, Barṭannah. Al-Qairawān,—Ṣabrah, Asfāqus, al-Mahdiyyah, Sūsah, Tūnis, Banzard, Ṭabarqah, Marsā-l-Kharaz, Būnah, Bājah, Lurbus, Qarnah, Marnīsah, Mas, Banjad, Marmājannah, Sabībah, Qamūdah, Qafṣah, Qasṭī-
56. liyah, Nafzāwah, Lāfis, Audhah, Qalānis, Qabīshah, Ruṣfah, Banūnish, Lajam, Jazīrat-Abī-Sharīk, Bāghāy, Sūq-Ibn-Khalaf, Dūfānah, al-Masīlah, Ashīr, Sūq-Ḥamzah, Jazīrat-Banī-Zaghannāyah,[2] Mattījah, Tanas, Dār, Sūq-Ibrāhīm, al-Ghuzzah, Qal'at-Burjumah, Bāghir, Yalal, Jabal Tūjān,[3] Wahrān, Jārāwā,[4] Arazkūl,[5] Malīlah,[6] Nakūr,[7] Sabtah,[8] Kalzāwah, Jabal Zālāgh, Asfāqus, Munastīr, Marsā-l-Ḥajjāmīn, Banzart, Ṭabarqah, Hayyājah, Lurbus, Marsā-l-Ḥajar, Jamūnas-aṣ-Ṣābūn, Ṭaras, Qasṭīliyah, Nafṭah, Taqiyūs *known as* Madīnatu-l-Quṣūr, Miskiyānah, Bāghāy, Dūfānah, 'Ainu-l-'Aṣāfīr, Dār Maluwwal, Ṭubnah, Maqqarah, Tījis, Madīnatu-l-Mahriyyīn, Tāmasant, Dakkamā, Qaṣru-l-Ifrīqī, Rakwā, al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah, Mīlā, Jījil, Tābarrīt, Saṭīf, Īkijā, Marsā-d-Dajjāj,[9] Ashīr. Tāhart,—Yammamah, Tāghalīsiyah, Qal'at-Ibni-l-Harab, Hazārah, al-Ja'bah, Ghadīru-d-Durū', Lamāyah, Mindās, Sūq-Ibn-Ḥablah, Maṭmāṭah, Jabal Tujān, Wahrān, Shalif, Ṭīr, al-Ghuzzah, Sūq-Ibrāhīm, Rahbāyah, al-Baṭḥah,[10] az-Zaitūnah, Tamammā, Ya'ūd, al-Khaḍhrā', Wārīfan, Tanas, Qaṣru-l-Fulūs, Baḥriyyah, Sūq Karā, Manjaṣah, Awazkā, Tabrīn, Sūq Ibn Mablūl, Rabā, Tāwīlat-Abī-Mughūl, Tāmazīt, Tāwīlat, Laghwā, Fakkān. Sijilmāsah,—Dar'ah, Tādanaqūsat, Athar, Īlā, Wailamīs, Ḥiṣn Ibn Ṣāliḥ, an-Naḥḥāsīn, Ḥiṣnu-s, Sūdān, Hilāl, Imṣalā, Dāru-l-Amīr, Ḥiṣn Barārah,[11] al-Khiyāmāt,

[1] Also written Baṭarnuwā.

[2] Or Jazīrat-Banī-Zaghannāy.

[3] Also written Jabal Tujān.

[4] Called also Jurāwah.

[5] At page 246 it is called Alashqūr.

[6] Yāqūt (IV. 641), describes it as town on the sea-shore, not far from Sabtah [Ceuta]. See also Ibn Ḥauqal, p. 53.

[7] Also called Nākūr.

[8] Also written Sabtā.

[9] The name of this town is everywhere written Marsā-d-Dajjāj, with a double *j*. But if M. Reinaud is right, as certainly he is, in saying that the name means '*port aux poules*' (Géo. d'Aboulf. I. 175 *n* 3), the correct pronunciation can only be *Marsā-d-Dajāj*, as we have written it at p. 44 *ante*.

[10] Al-Baṭḥā'.

[11] Called also Ḥiṣnu-l-Barār.

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Ṭāzrūt. Fās,—al-Baṣrah, Zalūl, al-Jāḥid, Sūqu-l-Katāmī, Warghah, Sabū, Ṣanhājah, Huwārah, Tīzā, Maṭmāṭah, Kazannāyah, Salā, Madīnat-Banī-Qurbās, Mazḥāḥiyyah, Azīlā,[1] Sabṭā,[2] Balad Ghumār, Qal'atu-n-Nusūr, Nakūr,[3] Balash, Marnīsah, Tābarīdā, Ṣā', another town,[4] Miknāsah,[5] Qal'at Shamīt, Madā'in Barjan, Awazkā, Tiyūnū, Maksīn, Amlīl, Amlāh-Abi-l-Ḥasan, Qasṭīnah,[6] Nafzāwah, Niqāwus, Biskarah, Qabīshah. Its dependencies:—Az-Zāb; capital, al-Masīlah; towns, Maqqarah, Ṭubnah, Biskarah, Bādis, Tahūdhā, Ṭaulaqā, Jamīlā, Banṭiyūs, Adnah, Ashīr. Ṭanjah; towns, Walīlah, Madrakah, Matrūkah, Zaffūn, Ghuzzah, Ghumīrah, al-Ḥājir, Mā-jarā-jarā, al-Baiḍhā', al-Khaḍhrā'. Ṭarfānah,—Aghmāt, Wailā, Warīkah, Tandalī, Māssah, Zaffūn, Ghuzzah, Ghumīrah, al-Ḥājir, Qaiṭūn,[7] al-Khaḍhrā'.[8] Among the noted towns of Qurṭubah are the following,—Ṭulaiṭulah, Lāridah,[9] Tuṭīlah, Saraqusṭah, Ṭurṭūshah, Balansiyah, Mursīyah, Bajjānah, Māliqah, Istijah, Rayyah,[10] Jayyān, Shantarah,[11] Ghāfiq,[12] Turjālah,[13] Qūriyah, Māridah, Bājah, Shantirīn, Ukhshunubah,[14] Ishbīliyah, Sadūnah,[15] Jabal Ṭāriq, Qarmūnah, Maurūr, al-Jazīrah.[16] Had I entered al-Andalus I would have 57.

1 Also written Azīlah.

2 Also written Sabṭah.

3 Or Nākūr.

4 Cf. page 230 of the text. 'And between Fās and Ṣā' in the *rustāq* of Miknāsatu-ṣ-Ṣāghah, there is a large pleasant town abounding with trees and rivulets, *the name of which I do not remember.*'

5 Called Miknāsatu-ṣ-Ṣāghah.

6 Probably Qasṭīliyah.

7 *See* Yāqūt, IV. 216.

8 The editor remarks here that these are only repetitions, but that he did not wish to omit them for the reason that they form different readings, and especially on account of the name قيطون, which stands for al-Baiḍhā', as it serves to make the name فيكون in the MSS. of Ibn Khurdādhbah intelligible.

9 Lérida. Yāqūt, IV. 341. Géo. d'Aboulf., I. 260. The *Ilerda* of the Romans situated on the right or western (not *eastern* as in Abu-l-Fidā') bank of the river Segre, the principal tributary of the Ebro. Smith, II. 31*b*.

10 Called Rayyū in Ibn Ḥauqal. p. 76. Yāqūt, II. 892. It is the town of Archidona. (*See* Descriptio al-Magribi, p. 109).

11 Yāqūt, III. 327. The editor is not certain of this reading and suggests *Nafzah*.

12 A fortress in the district called Faḥṣu-l-Ballūṭ. Yāqūt, III. 769.

13 Also call Turjīlah. It is in the district of Māridah [Mérida, *Emerita*] at six days' journey to the west of Qurṭubah. Yāqūt, I. 836.

14 Also written Khushunubah.

15 Also called Shadhūnah.

16 Al-Jazīratu-l-Khaḍhrā'.

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divided the whole territory into districts, because of the many towns, countries and tracts that it contains. It is equal in size to Haiṭal, or even larger. A few of the cities of Islām have altogether been left out in this account, as we are unacquainted with them; al-Andalus, however, is comparable to the African side of this province, or very nearly so. According to Ibn Khurdādhbah, it has forty cities; namely, those enumerated above.

58. THE CLIMATES OF THE WORLD AND THE POSITION OF THE QIBLAH.

Know that everyone who has written on this subject gives the number of the climates as fourteen;[1] seven open to view and inhabited; and seven, not habitable. I have heard it

[1] The division of the surface of the globe into *iqlīms*, or climates, is borrowed from the Greeks, as the word itself implies. From the equator to the arctic circle Ptolemy makes sixteen climates of which twelve are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of midsummer-day. The twelfth climate ends in lat. 58°. The Arabs, however, for reasons explained in Reinaud's Introduction to the Geography of Abu-l-Fidā' (p. 224 *et seq*), have adopted a division into seven climates, also determined by the increase of half an hour in the longest day. But in order to comprise the most important portion of the habitable world within these climates, they did not begin at the equator but at about 12° 30′ north of it, ending at the 50° 4′ parallel of latitude. The following table shows the seven climates as delineated by Arab geographers. It may be observed that there is a slight difference in the degrees of latitude as compared with the account given in Abu-l-Fidā' (Géographie, I. 10 *et seq*); this has been done to bring the table into exact conformity with that of Ptolemy given in Smith's Dictionary of G. and R. Antiquities, p. 297.

CLIMATE.	LONGEST DAY.		LATITUDE.	
	Beginning.	Middle.	Beginning.	Middle.
I ...	12 h. 45 m.	13 h.	12° 30′	16° 27′
II ...	13 h. 15 m.	13 h. 30 m.	20° 15′	23° 51′
III ...	13 h. 45 m.	14 h.	27° 12′	30° 22′
IV ...	14 h 15 m.	14 h. 30 m.	33° 18′	36° 0′
V ...	14 h. 45 m	15 h.	38° 35′	40° 56′
VI ...	15 h. 15 m.	15 h. 30 m.	43° 4′	45° 1′
VII ...	15 h. 45 m.	16 h.	46° 51′	48° 32′

The seventh climate ends in lat. 50° 4′ where the longest day is 16 h. 15 m. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett), III. 43 *et. seq*. The division into climates was

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said by an astronomer that all living beings dwell in the west, and that none live in the east on account of the extreme heat; but I have heard another one say, on account of the cold. The distance from the extremity of al-Maghrib to the furthest limits of habitable land, at the end of the country of the Turks, is computed as six hundred parasangs[1] in a direct, undeviating course. It is on this basis that the authors already mentioned have written their treatises on this subject, and the following account is partly derived from these treatises and partly from the statements of some eminent astronomers I have met. The subject is very important in determining the direction of the Qiblah, and the relative position of the different countries in respect thereto, for some people, I find, have differed from the rest in these particulars, and have altered[2] the Qiblah, and made its position a matter of controversy. Had they been well-informed in this respect, they would not have differed about its position, nor would they have changed what was fixed by the ancient authorities.

The earth is nearly spherical in shape. It lies within the vault of heaven, as the yolk within the egg; and the air, which is all around the earth, attracts it on every side towards the heavens. The reason why living beings retain their stability on the face of the earth is that the air attracts all the light particles of matter in their bodies and the earth the dense particles; for the earth is analogous to the loadstone which attracts iron. An example is given in illustration of the physical facts in connexion with the heavens: it is that of a turner revolving a hollow body with a walnut placed inside of it; the point of the illustration being that when the hollow body revolves, the walnut stands motionless in the middle.

The earth is divided into two equal parts by the equator, which extends from east to west and defines the length of the earth. It is the greatest line on the terrestrial globe, as the Zodiac is the

applied only to the northern hemisphere; but in Almag. ii 6, Ptolemy makes one climate to the south also, beginning at the equator and ending in lat. 16° 25′. Some Arab geographers, again, divide the southern hemisphere into seven climates as well, thus making the fourteen climates of our author; but this division serves no practical end and is generally left out of account.

[1] We should probably read two thousand and six hundred; see *infra*, p. 106, l. 1.

[2] The text reads وحولها, but the correct reading is undoubtedly وحولوها.

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greatest line in the heavens. The earth's breadth extends from the South Pole, round which Suhail (Canopus) moves, to the North Pole, around which the constellation Banāt Na'sh (Ursa) moves.

The circumference of the earth at the equator is three hundred and sixty degrees; the degree is twenty-five parasangs;
59. the circumference of the earth is therefore nine thousand parasangs. From the equator to each of the poles is ninety degrees; and the same extent measures the distance of the earth in a latitudinal direction. But the inhabited parts do not extend to more than twenty-four degrees below the equator, the rest being completely covered by the sea. The northern quarter of the globe therefore, is the only part inhabited; for while the southern quarter is not habitable, the half of the earth that is beneath us does not contain any inhabitants. The two quarters known to the world have been divided into the fourteen climates referred to above.

The First Climate. Extent, 38,500 parasangs; breadth, 1995 parasangs.[1] It begins where the shadow at noon in the equinox is $1\frac{3}{60}$ feet; and ends where it is at this time, $2\frac{3}{5}$ feet. The distance laterally from one side to the other is about 390 miles; a mile measuring 4,000 cubits. Its middle lies near Ṣan'ā', 'Adan[2] and al-Aḥqāf, and that extremity which is adjacent to Syria passes through Tihāmah, near Makkah. It thus contains such principal towns as Ṣan'ā', 'Adan, Ḥaḍhramaut, Najrān, Jurash, Jaishān, Ṣa'dah, Tabālah, 'Umān and al-Baḥrain, the southernmost of the country of the Sūdān [Blacks], on to al-Maghrib, and also parts of the continents of India and China, adjoining the sea-coast. All places having the same latitude as these, to the east or to the west, are likewise contained in this climate.

The Second Climate begins where the shadow at noon in the equinox, as already said, is $2\frac{3}{5}$ feet; and the distance from one

[1] The Editor of the Text notes the absurdity of these figures. Our author is nowhere so inaccurate as when he is quoting from others. Ibnu-l-Faqīh (*Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 6), gives these figures as the length and breadth, not of the first climate alone, but of the seven climates taken together. But this writer is himself at fault; for he makes the seven climates of equal length and breadth, and gives the extent of one as 5,500 parasangs by 285; the total extent of the climates taken together cannot accordingly be 38,500 parasangs in length by 1,995 in breadth; needless to say it will in that case be 5,500 by 1,995.

[2] 'Adan is in the south of the first climate. *See* Yāqūt, I. 29.

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side of it to the other is 350 miles, in a straight line. Its middle part lies near Yathrib; the extremity furthest to the south, behind Makkah; and that towards the north, near ath-Tha'labiyyah. Makkah and ath-Tha'labiyyah lie therefore between two climates. Of the towns situated in this climate are the following: Makkah, Yathrib, ar-Rabadhah, Faid, ath-Tha'labiyyah, Uswān of Egypt, and thence to the borders of Nubia, and also al-Manṣūrah, al-Yamāmah and a part of the territories of as-Sind and al-Hind. All places in a line with these, to the east or to the west, are likewise contained in this climate. 60.

The Third Climate begins where the noon-day shadow is $3\frac{3}{60}$ feet; and ends where it is, at the time of equal days and nights, $4\frac{8}{15}$ feets. The day attains a length of fourteen hours in the middle of it, which lies near Madyan, the city of Shu'aib [Jethro], on the side of Syria, and near Wāqiṣah on the side of al-'Irāq. Its breadth is about 300 miles and a half,[1] in a direct line. Ath-Tha'labiyyah and all places, east and west, having the same latitude, are on its extremity furthest to the south; and Baghdād, Fāris, Qandahār of al-Hind, al-Urdunn and Bairūt, on the extremity adjoining Syria; so also are all places on the same latitude, to the east and to the west. Wāqiṣah and all places in a line with it, to the east and to the west, are therefore between two climates.[2] Of the towns contained within this climate are the following: al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ, Miṣr, al-Iskandariyyah, ar-Ramlah, al-Urdunn, Dimashq, 'Asqalān, the Holy Land, Qandahār of al-Hind, the coasts of Kirmān, Sijistān, al-Qairawān, Kaskar and al-Madāyin. All places on the same latitude as these, are likewise contained in this climate.

The Fourth Climate begins where the shadow at the time specified is $4\frac{3}{5}$ feet. Its breadth is some 260 miles and upwards, in a straight line. The middle part of it lies near Aqūr, Manbij, 'Irqah, Salamiyyah and Qūmis, in the direction of ar-Raiy; the lower extremity which adjoins al-'Irāq, near Baghdād and the places on its latitude, east and west; and its upper extremity to-

[1] The text reads ونصف; but this reading is probably an error for ونيف *and upwards*, a word twice repeated further on.

[2] This is a mistake Wāqiṣah being in the middle of the climate, it cannot be on the border-line of two climates. Baghdād, Fāris and the other countries which he mentions *are* thus situated. *Cf.* Yāqūt, I. 31.

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wards Syria, near Qāliqalā and the shores of Ṭabaristān to Ardabīl and Jurjān and places of the same latitude. Of remarkable towns situated in it are the following: Naṣībīn, Dārā, ar-Raqqah, Qinnasrīn, Ḥalab, Ḥarrān, Sumaisāṭ, the frontier towns of Syria, al-Mauṣil, Sāmarrā, Ḥulwān, Shahrazūr, Māsabadhān, ad-Dīnawar, Nahāwand, Hamadhān, Iṣbahān, al-Marāghah, Zanjān, Qazwīn,
61. Ṭūs, Balkh and all places coming near to these towns in latitude.

The Fifth Climate begins where the shadow is $5\frac{1}{30}$ feet. The distance laterally from side to side is about 230 miles, in a straight line. Its middle lies in the vicinity of Taflīs in the province of ar-Riḥāb, of Marw in Khurāsān, and of the country of Jurjān and all the places on this line to the east and west. Its upper extremity towards the north is near Dabīl; and it contains amongst other towns, Qāliqalā, Ṭabaristān, Malaṭyah, Rūmiyah, Dailamān, Jīlān, 'Ammūriyah, Sarakhs, Nasā, Bīward, Kashsh, al-Andalus, all places in the neighbourhood of Rūmiyah, and Anṭāliyah (Attalia).

The Sixth Climate begins where the shadow is $6\frac{17}{30}$ feet. The shadow at its end is one foot more than at its beginning; and its breadth is some 200 miles and upwards, in a direct line. Its lower extremity towards the south is conterminous with the northernmost limit of the fifth climate; and that is the latitude of Dabīl, east and west. Its uppermost extremity towards the north lies near the territory of Khuwārizm and the country beyond, and near Asbījāb which adjoins the land of the Turks; and its middle part, near al-Qusṭanṭiniyyah, Āmul in Khurāsān, Farghānah and all places on this line to the east and to the west. It contains Samarqand, Bardha'ah, Qabalah, al-Khazar, al-Jīl, the northern parts of al-Andalus and the southern parts of the country of the Ṣaqālibah (Slavs).

The Seventh Climate begins where the shadow is $7\frac{17}{30}$ as at the end of the sixth climate; for the end of the sixth is the beginning of the seventh climate. Its southern extremity lies where the northernmost boundary of the climate contiguous to it, which is the sixth, is situated; and that is the latitude of Khuwārizm and Ṭurārband, to the east and west. Its furthest extremity towards the north lies in the remotest parts of the country of the Slavs, and the territories of the Turks adjoining Khuwārizm on the north. Its middle passes through the country of al-Lān, with no towns that are known.

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'Abdu-llah, the son of 'Amr, saith: the earth has an extent 62.
of 500 years' journey, of which 400 is desert and one hundred inhabited; of this the Muslims occupy the space of one year only.[1] Abu-l-Jild: the extent of the earth is 24,000 parasangs; the Blacks occupy 12,000, the Greeks 8,000, the Persians 3,000, and the Arabs 1,000 parasangs.[2]

The Empire of Islām.

Know that the Empire of Islām—*God the Most High be its guardian*—is not regular in form so as to admit of description as square, or as having length and breadth. It is on the contrary very irregular, as is obvious to anyone who has carefully observed the quarters of the rising and setting of the sun, has travelled to different countries, and made himself acquainted with the public roads, and ascertained the extent of the provinces in parasangs. We will try to give as lucid a description of it as possible, and to represent it clearly to the minds of the intelligent and men of good understanding, *if God (He is exalted) will!*

The sun sets on the extreme side of the territory of al-Maghrib, where it is seen to descend into the all-encircling Ocean. The inhabitants of Syria, in like manner, see it go down into the Sea of ar-Rūm. Egypt extends in length from the Sea of ar-Rūm to the country of the Nubians; it lies between the Sea of al-Qulzum (the Red Sea) and the borders of al-Maghrib. The latter province stretches from the confines of Egypt to the Ocean, a strip of country wedged between the Sea of ar-Rūm on the north, and the countries of the Blacks on the south. Syria extends from the borders of Egypt in a northerly direction to the country of the Greeks; it lies therefore between the Sea of ar-Rūm and the Arabian 63.
desert. The desert and a part of Syria touch the Peninsula of

[1] Cf. *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, page 4. For a biographical notice of 'Abdu-llah ibn 'Amr *see* this translation, page 24, note 3.

[2] Cf. *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 4 and Yāqūt, I. 19. The author of *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, II. 324, mentions a traditionist of the name of Abu-l-Jild Jailān ibn Farwah al-Asadī al-Bişrī, who lived about the beginning of the second century of the Hijrah. Instead of Abu l-Jild, Yāqūt has Qatādah who was one of the Tābi'īs and died in 118 H. Ibnu-l-Faqīh has Abū Khalaf, a name borne by a servant of Muḥammad as well as by two of the Tābi'īs and several traditionists. Of the latter, Abū Khalaf Mūsā ibn Khalaf al-Bişrī received part of his traditions from this same Qatādah.

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the Arabs; while the Sea of China encompasses it from Egypt to 'Abbādān. Al-'Irāq adjoins the desert and a part of the Peninsula; and on its northern limits it is bordered by the province of Aqūr, which extends to the country of the Greeks, and is surrounded on its west by an arching of the Euphrates. Behind the Euphrates lies the remaining part of the desert, and also a portion of Syria. These are the Arabian provinces.

Khūzistān and al-Jibāl are situated alongside the eastern boundaries of al-'Irāq; while parts of al-Jibāl, as well as the province of ar-Riḥāb, lie on the eastern limits of Aqūr. Fāris, Kirmān and as-Sind are situated at the further side of Khūzistān, in a continuous line, with the sea on the south and the desert and Khurāsān on the north. As-Sind and Khurāsān are conterminous with the countries of the Infidels on the east; while ar-Riḥāb touches the country of the Greeks on the west and north. Lastly, the province of ad-Dailam has its situation between ar-Riḥāb, al-Jibāl, the desert and Khurāsān. This is all the empire of Islām; do thou study it with attention. Anyone traversing this empire from east to west has to make many windings and turnings from the straight path; for, while the journey from the Ocean to Egypt lies in a direct line, one has to turn a little to go towards al-'Irāq, and then again in order to enter the non-Arabian provinces to Khurāsān, which inclines in a northerly direction;—and dost thou not see that the sun rises on the right side of Bukhārā from the direction of Isfījāb?

The dimensions of the empire we have just described are as follows: from the Ocean to al-Qairawān, a travelling distance of 120 stages; thence to the Nile, 60 stages; thence to the Tigris, 50 stages; thence to the Oxus, 60 stages; thence to Tūnkat, 15 days; and thence to Ṭarāz, 15 days. If thou turnest into the direction of
64. Farghānah, then the number of stages from the Oxus to Ūzkand is 30; or if thou turnest towards Kāshkhar then the distance is 40 stages. By another route thou travellest from the coasts of al-Yaman to al-Baṣrah, 50 days; thence to Iṣfahān, 138 *farsakhs*; thence to Naisābār, 30 stages; thence to the Oxus, 20 stages; and thence to Ṭarāz, 30 stages. This is in a direct line, the provinces of Egypt, al-Maghrib and ash-Shām being necessarily left out. The breadth is of still greater irregularity; for while the province of al-Maghrib, as also Egypt, is of little width, the empire extends in breadth when thou art in face of Syria and grows larger and

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larger until its width beyond the Oxus to as-Sind is a three months journey. Abū Zaid extends the breadth from Malaṭyah to the Peninsula, al-'Irāq, Fāris and Kirmān, on to the territory of al-Manṣūrah. He does not give the number of stages; it is, however a distance of about four months less ten days. What I have myself stated is clearer and of greater exactness. The distance accordingly from the easternmost extremity in Kāshkhar to as-Sūsu-l-Aqṣā is very nearly a ten months' journey.

An estimate was made by order of the Khalīfah,[1] in the year 232 (H.) of the amount of revenue realized from taxes on lands and from poor-rates, tolls and imposts not being taken into account, in all the empire. It was found to be 2,320,264½ *dīnārs*.[2] The revenues of the Greek empire were once computed by order of al-Mu'taṣim, and they amounted it is said to 500 *qinṭārs*[3] and a few more *qinṭārs*, a sum equivalent to something less than 3,000,000 dīnārs. Whereupon he wrote to the Emperor of the Greeks, 'The least province in my empire, under the least of my servants, yields a larger revenue than the whole of thy empire.'[4]

[1] Al-Wāthiq, the ninth of the 'Abbāside dynasty; he succeeded his father, al-Mu'taṣim, in 227 and died toward the close of the year 232.

[2] These figures are impossible; for, how could al-Mu'taṣim write in such vaunting terms to the Greek emperor if the revenues of the latter were in fact in excess of his own? Qudāmah in his *Kitābu-l-Kharāj* (Biblio. Geog. Arab., Vol. VI, page 249) gives the total amount of revenue as 4,920,000 *dīnārs*, a total in evident disaccord with the sum of the revenues of the different parts of the empire, for he gives the revenue of al-'Irāq alone as being about 8½ millions. The real amount appears to be well over twenty millions, nearly ten times the number given by al-Muqaddasī.

[3] The value of the *Qinṭār* as a monetary denomination is not known with certainty. It is vaguely defined by some as 'a quantity of gold or silver *sufficient to fill a bull's hide*.' Most of the Arabs, however, reckon its value about four thousand dīnārs; others take it to be 80,000 *dirhams* or 5333⅓ *dīnārs*. Either of these two values might be intended here. *Cf.* al-Maqrīzī's *Historia Monetæ Arabicæ*, p. 63, where its value is said to be according to one opinion ثمانون الفا or 'eighty thousands' of *dirhams*; this the translator incorrectly renders at page 145 as 1,080 one thousand and eighty *dīnārs*. For the value of the talent among the Greeks and the Romans *see* Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

[4] Egypt, with a revenue of 2,500,000, is the province intended, as our author thinks. This is followed in C by some remarks on the way the land revenue of Egypt is paid to the State; but as the substance of these remarks will be found embodied in the account on Egypt, they have been passed over

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65. The greatest length of the empire, as already shown, is 2,600 *farsakhs*; every hundred *farsakhs* equal 1,200,000 cubits; a *farsakh* is therefore 12,000 cubits. A cubit is equal to 24 fingers;
66. a finger equals the breadth of six grains of barley put one by the side of the other. A mile is one-third of a *farsakh*; but there is a difference as regards the *barīd*. It is 12 miles in the desert and al-'Irāq, but six in Syria and Khurāsān; and as in Khurāsān at every two farsakhs there have been built stations for the accommodation of officers of the Post, we shall take the *barīd* as being six miles.

in this place. The author goes on to say "My present work describes things as I saw them at the time; but changes are always in evidence. Have I not found the governor of Sarakhs, when I passed it in 74, a man of unsound mind and its preacher grievous to the spirit? It is also probable that we have left some towns, which may be well-known and which we may have actually visited, without the slightest mention or description; let the people of such towns take us not to task as it is human to err and to forget. Again, let no one be annoyed at our noticing the bad features of his country as this adds not to its disparagement, in the same way that a statement of its good features does not add to its praise; besides this is a science that ought to have its foundation on veracity and truth, and the mention of both good and evil, and indeed were I to hide the faults of any town, I would have shielded my own native town which is of such great holiness and esteem before God and man! It is likely too for a person looking into our work to think he discovers contradictory statements in it; should he ponder well, however, he would see the drift of our meaning; and have not some people sealed their souls' perdition by supposing that the Book of God, that glorious and noble book of which it is written 'Falsehood shall not approach it, either from before it, or from behind it' contradicts itself? How with the words of a weak, worthless creature then?" Next the author observes that he generally omits the titles of respect from before the names of persons mentioned in his work, as this, he says, is appropriate in epistolary writings, not in literary compositions. He then explains the methods which different authors adopt to give greater celebrity to their works. Some, he says, begin by holding a course of lectures for a series of years and gathering round them students from every quarter. When their fame is established abroad and they are known to high and low, they would then publish their books with the certainty of being favourably received. Others, and this is the method which he himself adopts, dedicate their works to persons in high positions and thus gain their end. Al-Muqaddasī dedicates his work to Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibnu-l-Ḥasan (*see* this translation, page 11, note 2), but it is a compendium of this work which he thus dedicates as men of rank, he says, prefer short, effective language. This compendium he calls *Kitābu-l-Musāfāt wa-l-Wilāyāt*, the Book of Distances and Governments.

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We have begun with the Peninsula of the Arabs as it is in this country that the Sacred House of God as well as the City of the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, are situated; and because it was from here that the religion of Islām spread abroad, and it was here that the rightly-guided Khalīfahs [1] as well as the *Anṣār* [2] and the *Muhājirūn* [3] had their homes. The standards of the Muslims were there displayed, and there the interests of religion gained strength; it also contains all the places connected with the rites and ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. Besides, it is a country subject to tithe, and for this reason has been mentioned in the books of the leading doctors of law; [4] so that teachers of the law must needs acquire a good knowledge of it in order to explain their texts. It was from this country too, that the earth was stretched out,[5] and thence it was that Ibrāhīm (Abraham) called the people of the world.[6] In addition to all this, it comprises within it several

[1] The first four Khalīfahs. *See* this translation, page 73 *n*.

[2] The "Helpers" or "Defenders." The men of al-Madīnah who pledged themselves to defend the Prophet and to guard him against *all that they guarded their wives and children from*.

[3] The "Emigrants" or "Fugitives" The Meccan adherents of the Prophet, who along with him, fled from their native town to Yathrib, henceforward called *al-Madīnah* or the City, namely, of the Prophet.

[4] Conquered lands left in the possession of their *infidel* owners are subjected to a tax or tribute called *kharāj*. As no religion but Islām can be tolerated in Arabia, it follows that no *kharāj* in the full sense of the word can be imposed upon lands there. Tithes, however, are taken. Consult Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, Vol. II. p. 204 *et seq*.

[5] *Cf.* Qur'ān, lxxix. 30. In a tradition it is said that the place where the *Ka'bah* now stands was visible in the form of a small, rounded islet on the face of the waters, long before the heaven and earth were created. From beneath this islet God *stretched out* the earth. *See* al-Azraqī's *History of Makkah*, pp. 2 and 3.

[6] When Ibrāhīm had finished the building of the *Ka'bah*, God commanded him to proclaim to the whole world their duty of making a pilgrimage to the "Ancient House." 'What could my voice reach, O Lord?' said Ibrāhīm. 'Do thou proclaim and I will make them hear,' was the Lord's reply. Thereupon Ibrāhīm mounted the *maqām*, the stone on which he stood to build the Ka'bah, and in a miraculous way it rose higher than the highest mountain and the whole earth was brought within hearing distance of him. Putting his fingers in his ears and turning his face now to this now to that direction, he called out and said "O men, there is prescribed for you the pilgrimage to

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great divisions and a number of large districts and fine tracts; for it contains in fact the whole of al-Ḥijāz as well as the whole of al-Yaman, the peninsula of Sīnā, al-Aḥqāf,[1] al-Yamāmah, al-Ashḥār, Hajar, 'Umān, aṭ-Ṭā'if, Najrān, Ḥunain,[2] al-Mikhlāf,[3] the *Ḥijr* of Ṣāliḥ,[4] the countries of 'Ād and Thamūd,[5] the Deserted Well and the Lofty Palace,[6] the site of Iram of the

the Ancient House, do ye obey the call of your Lord." Then from all the quarters of the earth were heard sounds of *Labbaika Allāhumma Labbaika*, "We obey Thee, Lord, we obey Thee." *See* al-Azraqī's *History of Makkah*, p. 33.

[1] Al-Qur'ān, xlvi. 20. Here were the quarters of the tribe of 'Ād.

[2] The valley of Ḥunain, about three miles to the north-east of Makkah, where a battle was fought in the eighth year of the Hijrah between Muḥammad and the Hawāzin. The Muslims were at first completely broken, but having rallied they at last gained the day. This battle is mentioned in al-Qur'ān, ix. 25. See *al-Kāmil* of Ibnu-l-Athīr, ii. 199.

[3] *Mikhlāf Mu'ādh*, the district of Mu'ādh in al-Yaman. Mu'ādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī, after whom this *Mikhlāf* is called, was one of the foremost companions of Muḥammad. He was deputed by the Prophet to promote the cause of Islām in al-Yaman. In the Caliphate of Abū Bakr he returned to join the army which was destined to conquer Syria for the Muslims. Mu'ādh died in Palestine, in the eighteenth year of the Hijrah and the 33rd or 34th of his age, of the plague which came to be known in history as the Plague of 'Amwās, from having first made its appearance in 'Amwās, the Nicopolis of classic times. His tomb is at al-Quṣair (*Voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, i. 129). Hughes (*Dict. of Islām*, p. 366) has mistaken the two words *ṭā'ūn 'Amwās*, which mean 'the Plague of 'Amwās,' as being together the name of a place.

[4] Al-Ḥijr, in the north-western Ḥijāz, where some rock excavations are found which are said to be the dwellings of the tribe of Thamūd in prehistoric times. This tract of country is generally known as the Ḥijr of Ṣāliḥ after the name of a prophet said to have been sent to the Thamūdites to preach the Divine Unity to them; but they rejected him and so brought about their own destruction. The story is told in Qur'ān vii. 71 *et seq.*

[5] 'Ād in the south, at al-Aḥqāf, between ash-Shiḥr, 'Umān and Ḥaḍhramaut. Thamūd in the north, at al-Ḥijr, between al-Ḥijāz and Syria.

[6] Al-Qur'ān, xxii. 44. This is said to be a well in Ḥaḍhramaut where the prophet Ṣāliḥ and four thousands of Thamūdites, believers in God, took up their quarters after the fatal disaster to the tribe. As Ṣāliḥ died shortly after their arrival at this country, it came to be called Ḥaḍhramaut, from the root *ḥaḍhara* to be present and *maut* death. These Thamūdites built near the well a town which they called Ḥāḍhūrā' and lived there during a long time under the leadership of Jalhas ibn Jullās. Then they apostatized and worshipped an idol; and God sent them a prophet in the person of Ḥandhalah ibn Ṣafwān whom they killed. In consequence they were utterly destroyed,

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columns,[1] *the place of* 'the Fellows of the pit,'[2] the Prison of Shaddād,[3] the Tomb of Hūd,[4] the habitations of Kindah,[5] the mountain of Ṭayyi',[6] the houses of those who enjoyed their lives in the valley,[7] the Mount of Sīnā, the Madyan of Shu'aib[8] and the springs of Mūsā.[9] It is the largest of the provinces in extent, the broadest in area, the most excellent in soil, and the greatest in sanctity. Its towns are the most renowned; here is Ṣan'ā' which surpasses all cities, and 'Adan, to which travellers flock from every quarter; and here are those rural districts which are an ornament to al-Islām, and the splendid country of al-Yamanu and al-Ḥijāz. Should anyone say 'Why hast thou made al-Yaman,

their well was abandoned and their palatial city ruined. See *al-Kashshāf* of az-Zamakhsharī, Vol. II. p. 910.

[1] Iram, "the city of pillars," supposed to have been built by Shaddād, the son of 'Ād, and to be still remaining, although invisible to ordinary eyes. Al-Qur'ān, lxxxix 6.

[2] Qur'ān, lxxxv. 4 These are said to be the Christians of Najrān, who were persecuted by Abū Nuwās, the Jewish king of al-Yaman (*circa* 480 A.D.). They were flung into a pit filled with fire, and burned to death. Cf. *al-Kashshāf* of az-Zamakhsharī, Vol. ii. 1594 and Sale's *Koran*, p. 485, note f.

[3] The town of 'Adan is said to have been used as a prison by Shaddād, the son of 'Ād.

[4] At al-Aḥqāf, near the coast. Hūd is the prophet who was sent to the tribe of 'Ād, in Ḥaḍhramaut, and whose story is narrated in al-Qur'ān, xlvi. See also *Description de l'Arabie*, Niebuhr, p. 249.

[5] The tribe of Kindah, a sister stock of the Ḥimyarites, were originally settled in Ḥaḍhramaut. At one period of their history their power extended over a great part of Central Najd. The capital of the kings of Kindah was Dammūn.

[6] The great tribe of Ṭayyi' which is of Yamanic origin occupied the parallel mountain chains of Aja' and Salmā on the northern frontier of Najd.

[7] Qur'ān, xxvi. 149. The rock-dwellings of the Thamūdites in the valley of Ḥijr. These are really the graves of a vanished Nabathæan people, whose historical existence is mentioned by the classical geographers. *See* Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 120.

[8] The city of Madyan, so named after one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, is situated about half way down the eastern coast of the Elanitic Gulf. Here dwelt Shu'aib, the Jethro of the Scriptures, and hence the town is often called "Madyan of Shu'aib." The father-in-law of Moses is mentioned in al-Qur'ān, Ch. vii. 86.

[9] The "Fountains of Moses," the well-known hot wells near Suez. Yāqūt refers to these wells under the name of *Wādī Mūsā*, or the "Valley of Moses." *Vide Mu'jamu-l-Buldān*, iv. 879. See also *Description de l'Arabie*, Niebuhr, p. 348.

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al-Mashriq and al-Maghrib, to consist each of two sides?' I answer, 'As for al-Yaman, it is the Prophet himself who has so made it, for he established different stations for pilgrims to enter therefrom into the sacred precincts;[1] and as for Khu-
68. rāsān, Abū Zaid, who is an authority in this science specially as regards his own country, has considered it as two provinces; I cannot be blamed therefore for taking it to be two *sides* (of one province). Were it to be added, 'Since thou admittest him to be an authority, why didst thou differ from him in regarding Khurāsān as *one* province?' I reply, 'I have two answers to this; the first is that I did not wish to divide the territories of the House of Sāmān, who are universally known in the world of Islām as the rulers of Khurāsān, but who have their capital in Haiṭal; and the second is that Abū 'Abd-ullah al-Jaihānī[2] also

[1] Al-Yaman includes two regions, the shore strip from al-Ḥijāz to 'Adan and the mountainous district which extends inland. The former is commonly called Tihāmah and the latter the Najd of al-Yaman to distinguish it from Najdu-l-Ḥijāz, or Najd proper, which includes the whole of Central Arabia In *Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī*, the celebrated collection of traditions by Abū-'Abdi-llāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī (d. 256 H), it is stated that Yalamlam was appointed by the Prophet as the *mīqāt* of al-Yaman, that is the point at which the inhabitants of al-Yaman and all who came from that quarter were to begin their Ḥajj and put on the *Iḥrām* or pilgrimage dress, and that Qarn, or to give it its full name Qarnu-l-Manāzil, was to be the station for Najd. Under this name, as stated above, is included the whole of the central district of Arabia and the mountainous district of al-Yaman itself; so that by al-Yaman in the tradition which fixes the pilgrim stations, only that part of al-Yaman which is called Tihāmah is meant. Al-Muqaddasī explains this in C. He says, "If it were said that the Prophet's words were to the effect that the people of Najd, not of al-Yaman, should begin their pilgrimage at Qarn, I reply that all agree that the inhabitants of Ṣan'ā' are of those whose pilgrim-station is Qarn and it is undoubted that Ṣan'ā' is of al-Yaman. The meaning is therefore this that the people of al-Yaman should enter the Ḥaram from Yalamlam with the exception of the inhabitants of Najd or the Highlands; just as a man might say to his servant 'Pay the *Ashrāf* (descendants of the Prophet's family) a thousand each and the descendants of 'Alī two thousands each.' Parallels to this may be found both in the Book and in the Laws."

[2] C: Abū 'Abd-ullah al-Jaihānī, Ibn Khurdādhbah and Ibnu-l-Faqīh were likewise authorities in this science and not one of them has divided al-Mashriq into separate provinces. I have, therefore, taken the words of al-Fārisī as showing that it is of *two sides* and the statements of these writers as implying *one province*. In the same way, in lifting up his hands in prayer the

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is an authority in this science, and he has not separated Khurāsān; my statement, therefore, agrees with one or other of them in one part and differs in the other. This is the form of the Peninsula of the Arabs.[1]

I have divided this province into four extensive districts, and four large dependencies. The districts in their order are:—(1) al-Ḥijāz; (2) al-Yaman; (3) 'Umān; and (4) Hajar. The dependencies are:—(1) al-Aḥqāf; (2) al-Ashḥār;[2] (3) al-Yamāmah; and (4) Qurḥ. The capital of al-Ḥijāz is Makkah; and of its towns are 69. the following: Yathrib, Yanbu', Qurḥ, Khaibar, al-Marwah, al-Ḥaurā', Juddah, aṭ-Ṭā'if, al-Jār, as-Suqyā,[3] al-'Aunīd, al-Juḥfah and al-'Ushairah. All these are large towns, while the following are smaller: Badr, Khulaiṣ, Amaj, al-Ḥijr, Badā Ya'qūb, as-Suwāriqiyyah, al-Fur', as-Sairah, Jabalah, Mahāyi' and Ḥādhah.

Al-Yaman is of two parts. The part that is towards the sea is a level country and is called Tihāmah; it has Zabīd for its capital, and of its towns are the following:—Ma'qir, Kadrah,[4]

Prophet is said by some to have raised them to the shoulders and by others up to the ears; hence our Doctors prefer to so raise the hands as to approach as nearly as possible the action of the Prophet as differently reported. And if it were said, 'the method you have invented differs from the methods of all whom you have mentioned,' I answer 'I only differed from them in the fuller treatment of my subject and in some matters which they have wrongly stated. Had their treatises been satisfactory and all their statements correct and had there been a profit to average men from their works, I would not have taken all the trouble I took; but I saw they did not go beyond distances and kingdoms and maps and somewhat of marvels and the science of the stars. The province of al-Maghrib was divided in similarity to the province of al-Mashriq as being parallel countries, the resemblance between the two consisting in that each of them forms a boundary of the territories of Islām and is the extreme limit of the earth's Luminary, *i.e.*, one is situated in the far East and the other in the far West.

[1] Here follows a map of Arabia in the original manuscripts.

[2] The province of al-Ashḥār, or as it is more generally called, the province of ash-Shiḥr, lies along the south-east coast of Arabia between 'Adan and 'Umān. It is also called Mahrah after a certain tribe of Ḥimyaric origin. Ash-Shiḥr is also the name of the chief town of the province.

[3] *I.e*, Suqyā-Yazīd.

[4] Al-Kadrā', a city on the Wādī Sahām or Sihām, founded by Ḥusain ibn Salāmah, who was ruler of al-Yaman from about A. H. 372 to 402, during the last years of the Banū Ziyād dynasty. Al-Kadrā' is one of the finest districts North of Zabīd; it is on the middle road between the coast and the mountains,

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Maur,[1] Aṭanah,[2] ash-Sharjah, Duwaimah, al-Ḥamiḍhah,[3] Ghalāfiqah, Mukhā, Kamarān, al-Ḥirdah, al-Las'ah,[4] Sharmah,[5] al-'Ashīrah, Ranqah, al-Khaṣūf, as-Sā'id,[6] al-Mahjam[7] and others. Here is the dependency of Abyan : towns, 'Adan and Lahj ; and the dependency of 'Aththar : towns, Baish, Ḥaly and as-Sirrain ; and lastly the dependency of as-Sarawāt. The part of al-Yaman towards the mountains is a cold mountainous country called Najd ; its capital is Ṣan'ā' and of its towns are the following : Ṣa'dah, Najrān, Juraṣh, al-'Urf, Jublān, al-Janad, Dhamār, Nasafān, Yaḥṣib, as-Suḥūl, al-Mudhaikhirah and Khaulān. Here is the dependency of al-Aḥqāf, which contains the single town of Ḥaḍhramaut ; and the country of Mahrah, with its capital ash-Shiḥr and also the country of Saba'. The capital of 'Umān is Ṣuḥār, and its towns are :—

70.

71. Nazwah, as-Sirr, Ḍhank, Jafīt, Dabā, Salūt, Jullafār, Samad, Lasyā and Milaḥ. Ḥajar, capital of al-Aḥsā' ; towns, Sābūn, az-Zarqā', Uwāl and al-'Uqair.[8] Its dependency is al-Yamāmah. Most of the towns of the Peninsula are small, but they are on the model of towns. I shall now turn to the description of the towns in these districts as far as it is possible and shall omit whatever is of no profit.

at four days' journey from Zabīd. See 'Umārah's *History of al-Yaman* (Kay), pp. 11 and 14 and Yāqūt, iv. 244.

[1] At eight days' journey from Zabīd and one of the finest districts to the North of it. Both Maur and al-Kadrā' are marked on the map that accompanies Kay's *History of al-Yaman*.

[2] Called by al-Khazrajī (A.H. 812) 'Uṭainah.

[3] Duwaimah and al-Ḥamiḍhah are two stations, at one day's distance from each other, on the maritime road of Tihāmah which extends from 'Adan to Makkah along the coast. See Kay's *History of al-Yaman*, pp. 11 and 241. Al-Khazrajī calls the first of these two towns ad-Dūmah.

[4] More properly Las'ā or Las'ā', on the sea-coast. *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, v. 499.

[5] The author of *al-Qāmūs* makes mention of a town which he calls *Sharamah* and which he places in the neighbourhood of ash-Shiḥr, in al-Yaman. He also mentions a hill of the name of Shurmah. The latter is mentioned by Yāqūt, iii. 281.

[6] As-Sā'id is called by 'Umārah, the Historian of al-Yaman, *al-Musā'id* ; in al-Khazrajī and al-Hamdānī the name is written as-Sā'id as in the text.

[7] One of the four finest districts to the north of Zabīd, *viz.*, al-Kadrā', al-Mahjam, Maur and al-Wādiyān. See Kay's *History of al-Yaman*, 14.

[8] A village on the sea-coast opposite Hajar (Yāqūt, iii. 669). Hajar designates sometimes the capital, but more generally the province of al-Baḥrain, the capital being commonly called al-Aḥsā' or al-Baḥrain.

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Makkah, the metropolis of this province, is laid out around the Ka'bah in a narrow valley inclosed by the surrounding hills. I saw three other towns similarly situated, 'Ammān in Syria, Iṣṭakhr in Fāris and Qaryatu-l-Ḥamrā'[1] in Khurāsān. The houses of Makkah are built of black, smooth stones and also of white stones; but the upper parts are of brick. Many of them have large projecting windows of teak-wood and are several stories high, whitewashed and clean. It is hot in summer, but the nights are always pleasant; nor is there by God's good providence any need in winter of warm clothes or lighted fires. The quarter of the city that stretches down from al-Masjidu-l-Ḥarām is known as *al-Masfalah* (the lower quarter); that higher up the mosque is called *al-Ma'lāt* (the upper quarter). In breadth the town is as wide as the valley. The Masjid, which is somewhat oblong in form, is situated two-thirds down the city, towards the Masfalah quarter; the Ka'bah stands in its midst with its two-leaved door facing the east and raised above the ground to nearly the height of a man. The leaves of the door are overlaid with plates of silver gilt. The Masjid is 370 cubits in length and 315 cubits in breadth. The extent of 72.
the Ka'bah itself is twenty-four cubits and one span, by twenty-three cubits and one span and its height above the ground twenty-seven cubits; the space round the Ḥijr measures twenty-five cubits and the whole circuit of the ṭawāf one hundred and seven. The Ḥijr[2] is on the side pointing to Syria; in this barn-like enclosure the *mīzāb* (water-spout) discharges itself; its walls which rise to about the height of the waist are faced all over with white marble and the floor paved with the same material. The Ḥijr is also called al-Ḥaṭīm. The ṭawāf passes from behind it, but it is not lawful to face it in prayer. If it were said in this connection that as the circuit of the Ka'bah must needs be made past the Ḥijr, it follows that it is lawful to face it in prayer? I answer, 'This shows want of comprehension; for it being doubt-

[1] The village of al-Ḥamrā', or as he calls it at p. 352, al-Qaryatu-l-Ḥamrā' *the Red village*, at two stages or ten *farsakhs* from Naisābūr. In Ibn Khurdādhbah it is simply called al-Ḥamrā'.

[2] The Ḥijr is on the north side of the Ka'bah enclosed within a low semi-circular wall of marble with an opening at each end between it and the walls of the house. In praying one has to face the Ka'bah but as it is not certain that the Ḥijr forms part of the Ka'bah although included in the ṭawāf, it has been forbidden to turn to it in prayer.

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ful (whether the Ḥijr forms part of the Ka'bah or not) it was necessary to take both views into consideration and decide accordingly.' The black stone is on the east corner[1] of the Ka'bah where the door is, fixed on the edge of the angle; it has the shape of a man's head and is placed at such a height that a person kissing it has to bend slightly. The vaulted building which encloses the well of Zamzam is directly opposite to the door of the Ka'bah. The course of the ṭawāf lies between this vault and the door. At a little distance from it stands the Qubbatu-sh-Sharāb (the Dome of Drink),[2] where is a reservoir in which a beverage of *sawīq* and wine was formerly provided (for the refreshment of pilgrims).[3] The Maqām (*or standing stone of Abraham*) stands right in front of that side of the house on which is the door. It is nearer to the house than Zamzam; so near, in fact, as to be included in the ṭawāf during the days of the pilgrimage; a large iron box is placed over the site, fixed deeply in the ground and in height above the size of a man. This box is covered with a veil. The stone itself is taken year after year into the house and when it is brought back a wooden box is set over it, fitted with a door which is opened every time that prayers are said. As the *Imām* concludes with the salutation, he touches the stone and the door is
73. then closed. The maqām bears on it the prints of Abraham's

1 The Ka'bah is not exactly oriented; this may with greater precision be called the south-east corner.

2 On the south-east side of Zamzam. It was also called Qubbatu-l-'Abbās, after the uncle of Muḥammad. It is now used as a store-room for manuscripts bequeathed to the mosque and is for this reason called Qubbatu-l-Kutub. Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 172 and note †.

3 From Quṣaiy, the first of the Quraish who made himself master and guardian of the Ka'bah, the *siqāyah* had descended through 'Abd-Manāf and Hāshim to 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet. At the time of Quṣaiy the *siqāyah* consisted of leathern cisterns placed in the court of the Ka'bah and from which fresh well-water was given away to the pilgrims from the backs of camels. 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib re-discovered the well of Zamzam which was long covered up and which henceforth became the principal source from which pilgrims drank; but as the water of this well was far from palatable, he was wont to throw quantities of raisins in reservoirs filled from it to weaken the taste of salt-bitterness in the water and offer it to the pilgrims. The *siqāyah* continued long after the advent of Islām in the family of al-'Abbās, son of 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib.

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feet, but reversed.[1] It is of a dark colour and larger than the black stone. The ground of the ṭawāf is strewn with sand and that of the mosque with gravel. Round the court three porticoes have been erected on pillars of white marble, which al-Mahdī brought from al-Iskandariyyah to Juddah by way of the sea. The mosque (in its present form) was founded by him. The porticoes have their walls decorated on the outside in mosaic, artisans from Syria and Egypt being specially imported for the work. The names of these still appear on their work. The mosque has nineteen gates:[2] the gate of Banū Shaibah, the gate

[1] That is the right foot in the place of the left and the left foot in the place of the right. *Cf.* al-Mas'ūdī, III, 97.

[2] The gates of the Masjidu-l-Ḥarām have not always occupied the same positions or borne the same names. In the subjoined list different names are given by which they were known at one time or another. They are chiefly taken from al-Azraqī; *see* also Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 178 *et. seq.*

On the eastern side of the mosque:

(1) Bāb Banī Shaibah, close to the north-east angle. It was anciently called the gate of Banū 'Abd Shams and is known in modern times as the Bābu-s-Salām. Pilgrims usually enter the mosque through this gate.

Next to this al-Azraqī mentions the gate of Dāru-l-Qawārīr (see his history of Makkah, pp. 324 and 462).

(2) Bābu-n-Nabī, where the Prophet used to pass through from Khadījah's house in the Zuqāqu-l-'Aṭṭārīn. This gate is also called *Bābu-l-Ḥarīriyyīn*, the gate of Silk-mercers, and the *Bābu-l-Qafaṣ*. *See* Quṭbu-d-Dīn's History of Makkah, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, III. 211.

Next is the gate of al-'Abbās, opposite to which the house of al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, once stood.

(3) Bāb Banī Hāshim, also called Bāb 'Alī and Bābu-l-Baṭḥā'.

On the southern side:

(4) Bābu-z-Zayyātīn, near the eastern end of the wall, it is also called Bābu-z-Zait, Bāb Bāzān (from a neighbouring hill), Bābu-l-'Asharah and Bāb Banī 'Ā'idh.

(5) Bābu-l-Bazzāzīn.

(6) Bābu-l-Ḍaqqāqīn, or the Cloth-fullers. In the *Voyages d'Ibn Batuta*, I. 323, this word is wrongly translated 'Marchands de farine.'

In the place of the above two gates Burton has Bābu-l-Baghlah, and al-Azraqī Bāb Banī Sufyān ibn 'Abdi-l-Asad.

(7) Bāb Banī Makhzūm.

(8) Bābu-ṣ-Ṣafā. Architecturally the chief gate of the mosque.

(9) Bāb Zuqāqi-sh-Shaṭawī. *Cf.* al-Azraqī, 470, line 2.

(10) Bābu-t-Tammārīn. The gate itself is not mentioned in any other place, but we learn from al-Fāsī, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, II. 14, that the date-sellers were on the Yamānī or southern side of the mosque.

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of the Prophet, the gate of Banū Hāshim, the gate of the Oil-merchants, the gate of the Cloth-merchants, the gate of the Cloth-fullers, the gate of Banū Makhzūm, the gate of aṣ-Ṣafā, the gate of Zuqāqu-sh-Shaṭawī, the gate of the Date-sellers, the gate of Dāru-l-Wazīr, the gate of Jiyād, the gate of al-Ḥazwarah, the gate of Ibrāhīm, the gate of Banū Sahm, the gate of Banū Jumaḥ, the gate of al-'Ajalah, the gate of an-Nadwah, and the gate of al-Bishārah. It is bordered on the east and south by the market-places of the town and on the west by the houses and dwellings of the Egyptians. The course (*as-sa'y*) between

(11) Bāb Dāril-l-Wazīr.

For the above three gates Burton has Bāb Mujāhid or Bābu-r-Raḥmah.

(12) Bāb Jiyād or Ajyād, so called because leading to the hill Ajyād, of which the side that joins Abū Qubais is called Ajyādu-ṣ-Ṣaghīr and the side opposite to this Ajyādu-l-Kabīr.

Next is Bāb Zulaikhā, built by ash-Sharīf 'Ajlān.

The next gate is Bāb Umm Hānī, at the western end of the wall. This Umm Hānī was daughter of Abū Ṭālib and sister of 'Alī.

In the western wall:

(13) Bābu-l-Ḥazwarah, near the south-west corner. This gate is opposite that of Banū Hāshim and is also called Bābu-l-Wadā', Bāb Banī Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām or Bābu-l-Ḥizāmiyyah, Bāb Bani-z-Zubair ibni-l-'Awwām and Bābu-l-Baqqālīn.

(14) Bāb Ibrāhīm, so called from a tailor who had a shop near it. This gate was originally two, Bābu-l Khayyāṭīn and Bāb Banī Jumaḥ. *See* Quṭbu-d-Dīn, *Ch. der S. Mekka*, III. 159.

(15) Bāb Banī Sahm, nearest to the north angle. It is also called Bābu-l-'Umrah.

(16) Bāb Banī Jumaḥ, see No. 14.

In the northern wall.

Al-Azraqī mentions the gate of 'Amr ibnu-l-'Āṣ, near the west corner.

(17) Bābu-l-'Ajalah or to give it its full name Bāb Dāri-l-'Ajalah. Dāru-l-'Ajalah was so called from the activity with which the work of building it was pushed on, workers being engaged day and night for the purpose; or because the stones used in building it were carried in a cart which in Arabic is called *'ajalah*. Al-Azraqī, 464.

Next is Bāb Qu'aiqi'ān (from the hill of that name) or Bāb Ḥujair ibn Abī Ihāb. Burton calls this gate Bab el Kotoby, from an historian of Makkah, evidently Quṭbu-d-Dīn an-Nahrawālī, author of *Kitābu-l-I'lām bi-A'lām Baiti-l-llāhi-l-Ḥarām*.

(18) Bābu-n-Nadwah, *i.e.*, Bāb Dāri-n-Nadwah.

(19) Bābu-l-Bishārah, called by others Bābu-d-Duraibah and Bābu-l-Madrasah, at the eastern end of the wall. Al-Azraqī calls it Bāb Dār Shaibah ibn 'Uthmān.

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aṣ-Ṣafā and al-Marwah lies in the eastern market, the quick run being from the corner of the mosque to the gate of Banū Hāshim. This portion of the course is defined by green pillars. Lying behind the above-mentioned two markets there are other two markets which stretch to the end of the *ma'lāt* (upper quarter) with thoroughfares joining them. Pilgrims who enter the town by the 'Irāq road, have, in order to gain the Banū Shaibah gate, to turn to their right and proceed through the market of Ra'su-r-Radm ;[1] they cannot go by the Sūqu-l-Lail.[2] The Egyptians on the other hand, in order to reach this gate, have on arriving at al-Jarrāḥiyyah, outside the town, to turn to the left to the Thaniyyah,[3] and thence descend to the graveyards and thus gain the entrance of those coming from al-'Irāq. The town is 74.
entered from three different sides, one gate being on the Minā side, in the direction of al-'Irāq, where two roads converge, another on the 'Umrah road and the third in al-Masfalah (or lower quarter) on the Yaman road.[4] All these gates are covered with iron plates and the town is well fortified. Abū Qubais[5]

[1] This is Radm 'Umar, the embankment which 'Umar ibnu-l-Khaṭṭāb raised in the Ma'lāt or upper quarter of the town after the great flood which happened in his time and which was called Sail Umm Nahshal for having carried away this lady from the upper to the lower quarter of the town, where she was picked up.

Pilgrims stop here to pray a while as the Ka'bah could formerly be seen from this place, hence the place is also known as al-Mudda'ā.

[2] See the plan of Makkah at the end of Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*.

[3] This is *Thaniyyat Kadā'*, the pass from which the troops of the Prophet stormed the city (A. H. 8), and from which it is recommended that the pilgrim should enter Makkah. It is above the chief cemetery of Makkah where many of the companions of Muḥammad are said to be buried.

[4] The three gates of Makkah are (1) Bābu-l-Ma'lāt, at the northern or upper end, whence the road continues up the valley in which the city lies towards Minā and 'Arafah as well as towards Najd. (2) Bābu-sh-Shubaikah, the western gate, also called Bābu-l-'Umrah from the ceremonial connected with it and Bābu-z-Zāhir, from a village of that name. It opens on the Madīnah road and lies almost opposite to the great mosque. (3) Bābu-l-Mājin, the lower or southern gate which opens on the Yaman road.

[5] A lofty chain on the east of Makkah, commanding the Ṣafā and stretching as far as al-Khandamah, another mountain in its rear. Abū Qubais is one of the two chains called the *Akhshabān* of Makkah, the other being that called al-Aḥmar, or the Red Mountain, on the west. It is one of the holiest hills in Makkah and is said to be the first mountain that God planted on earth to steady it when it moved. Adam, according to some, lies buried in a cave on this mountain, with Eve and Seth their son.

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overlooks the mosque; it is ascended by a flight of steps from aṣ-Ṣafā.[1] The ṭawāf is surrounded by pillars of bronze and posts whereon lanterns are fixed for candles which are lighted in the name of the rulers of Egypt and al-Yaman and of the Shār, the ruler of Gharjistān. Makkah possesses three reservoirs which are filled from a canal cut by order of Zubaidah[2] from Bustān Banī 'Āmir; it contains also wells of tolerably good water. Their houses are the only source of revenue to the Meccans.

'Ā'ishah relates "I once asked the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, saying 'Is the Ḥijr part of the sacred house?' He answered me, yes. I then asked him, why have not the Quraish included it in the house? And he answered that it was on account of funds having failed them. I also asked him, 'Ā'ishah continues, concerning the door of the house, why has it been raised from the ground? and he said to me in answer 'Thy people did so that they might admit into the house whomsoever they will and refuse admittance to whomsoever they will. Verily were not the Quraish but lately in contact with idolatry that I fear their hearts will change, I would have seriously thought of including the Ḥijr in the house and making the door on a level with the ground.' It is said that Ibnu-z-Zubair[3] brought in ten of the chief Companions in order to hear this from the lips of 'Ā'ishah. He then ordered the Ka'bah to be pulled down; and notwithstanding the expostulations of the people, who came in a body to remonstrate with him, he persisted in his

[1] A little rise in the lower slope of Abū Qubais and about 100 yards south-east of the mosque. It is spoken of in the Qur'ān, ii. 153, as being with al-Marwah among "the sanctuaries of God," and people are enjoined on visiting the Holy city to run between them both. *See* Sale's *Koran*, page 19, note z.

[2] The real name of Zubaidah, cousin and wife of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, was Amatu-l-'Azīz. Zubaidah, the name by which she is generally known and which means 'a pat of butter,' is nothing but a pet name given her by al-Manṣūr, her grandsire, when she was a plump, little baby. Zubaidah died in 216H, in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. The aqueduct associated with her name having been frequently out of repair, was at last replaced by a new aqueduct which was completed by Sulṭān Salīm II. in 1571.

[3] 'Abdu-llah Ibnu-z-Zubair, the Meccan pretendant to the caliphate, died in 73 A. H. (692 A.D.), aged 72 years, he having been born in the first year of the Hijrah. His restoration of the Holy house which was destroyed A. H. 64 was his chief domestic work during his usurpation of the caliphate in al-Ḥijāz.

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design. Horror-stricken and in dread of an awful catastrophe the people fled to the distance of a *farsakh* from the town; but all ended well and he had it rebuilt according to the description of 'Ā'ishah, when the people began to return. When al-Ḥajjāj invested Makkah,[1] Ibnu-z-Zubair took refuge in the sanctuary of the Ka'bah; al-Ḥajjāj, however, placing his *balista* on Abū Qubais ordered them to destroy the additions which, said he, this officious heretic has made. So the site of al-Ḥaṭīm 75.
was shelled and Ibnu-z-Zubair was brought out and hanged. Al-Ḥajjāj then restored the wall to where it formerly was and out of the remaining stones he closed the western door,[2] paving the floor of the house with the rest that nothing might be lost. And the following I heard from one of the learned men of al-Qairawān. He said, "On his making the pilgrimage to the Holy city, al-Manṣūr[3] was struck with the smallness of the sacred mosque, its squalidness and the little knowledge the people had of its sacred character, so much so that the Arab of the desert was wont to make the round of the Ka'bah on his camel or dromedary. Al-Manṣūr was grieved at the sight of this and he resolved to buy the houses that stood around the mosque and include them in it and to plaster it and otherwise raise it in grandeur. He therefore called together the owners of the houses and tempted them by large offers of money, but they were averse to sell and would not forego the neighbourhood of the sacred house of God. This distressed him much, but he did not consider it right to take forcible possession of the houses. For three days he did not appear in public and the matter was the talk of the whole town. Abū Ḥanīfah, then without name or fame, and his learning and sound judgment as yet not known, happened to be on pilgrimage that year. So he went to the royal camp, which was pitched in

[1] In the year 72 A. H. (692 A.D.). After a blockade which lasted but a few months the town was reduced and Ibnu-z-Zubair slain in 73 A. H. Al-Ḥajjāj was one of the ablest men of the Umayyad dynasty, but of a hard and cruel nature his name has come down in history as the worst tyrant of his age. His death took place in 95 A. H. (712 A.D.).

[2] For a history of this second door of the Ka'bah see Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. page 157 note *.

[3] Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the founder of Baghdād and consolidator of the 'Abbāside power. His caliphate extended from 136 to 158 A. H. (754–75 A. D.).

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al-Abṭaḥ[1] and enquired about the Prince of the Faithful and the cause of his retirement. When the matter was explained to him he said that he knew an easy way out of the difficulty, which he would divulge to al-Manṣūr should he meet him. Al-Manṣūr being informed of this, called him to his presence and asked him what it was. Then Abū Ḥanīfah said, "Let the Prince send for them and put to them this question, 'Did this Ka'bah come down to you or did you come down to it?' Now if they say 'the Ka'bah came down to us' they would be given the lie, as it is from the Ka'bah that the earth was stretched out;[2] and if they say 'It is ourselves who came to live around it,' they should be told in answer that its visitors are now so many and its area so much limited that you must vacate for it the places you occupy around it and in which it has the greater right." Having called them together and questioned them, they answered through their spokesman, who was of the family of Hāshim, 'We ourselves came down to it.' He then said to them, 'Give back the space that belongs of right to it, for its visitors are now many and it is in need of it.' They were taken quite by surprise and consented to sell. This story strengthens one of the two opinions reported to have been held by Abū Ḥanīfah with regard to the houses of Makkah, regarding the sale of them or the receipt of rent for them;[3] unless indeed, one were to explain in some other way the position which he took up in the matter.

76. The town of Minā, at one *farsakh* from Makkah; it is part of the holy territory, and is two miles in length. Minā is peopled in the pilgrimage season, but remains throughout the rest of the year without any inhabitants, excepting those who are stationed

[1] This is the 'plain of many names' of Burton, *Pilgrimage*, III, 247 and n. *. *Abṭaḥ* signifies a low-lying, gravelly ground. Al-Abṭaḥ is at equal distance from Minā and Makkah; perhaps nearer to Minā. It is as commonly called al-Muḥaṣṣab. See Yāqūt, I. 92.

[2] See this translation, page 107, note 5.

[3] There is no question as to the propriety of selling the walls of the Meccan houses, but as to the sale of the ground on which they stand two different opinions are current which are both attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah. One opinion is that they may be sold and the other, which is the real opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah, is that it is improper. It is also abominable to let the ground at Makkah. *See* Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, Vol. iv. 119.

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in it as guards. It is the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah that it is lawful to hold the Friday prayers in Minā. Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī [1] argued this on the ground of it forming with Makkah one continuous city. But when Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ visited these places during his pilgrimage, and saw the distance that separates them, he thought this argument untenable. What he himself said was, that it is a town in the full sense of the word, but inhabited at one season and abandoned at another, its temporary evacuation not excluding it from the category of towns. The Qāḍhī Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Qazwīnī holds the same view. He one day asked me how many people lived in it from one end of the year to the other, and when I told him twenty or thirty men, and that besides there is in almost every tent a woman to take care of it, he said 'Abū Bakr is right, and what he taught thee accords with the truth.' On my meeting with the Faqīh Abū Ḥāmid al-Baghūlanī [2] at Naisābūr, I repeated all this to him. He, however, said, "The true reason is that given by Abu-l-Ḥasan. Dost thou not see that the Most High hath said 'Then the place for sacrificing them is at the old House,' [3] and also 'An offering brought to the Ka'bah?' [4] Now it is in Minā that sacrifices are performed." There are few towns of any importance in Islām that do not possess a tent for the special use of their inhabitants. At the entrance of Minā on the Makkah side is a pass ['Aqabah] on which the stones are thrown on the Day of Sacrifice [5] and the ~~three~~ following days.[6]

[1] Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Ubaidu-llah ibnu-l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī, a celebrated doctor of the Ḥanafite School, died at Baghdād in 340 H., at the age of eighty. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, II., p. 331. He was native of Karkh of Sāmarrā, not the quarter of that name in Baghdād.

[2] Baghūlan is a village of Naisābūr. Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, the Faqīh, was one of the Ḥanafite doctors and the greatest of them in his age. He taught jurisprudence in Naisābūr for more than sixty years and died on 17th Ramaḍhān, 383 H. Yāqūt, I. 696.

[3] Qur'ān, xxii. 34. [4] Qur'ān, v. 96.

[5] Yaumu-n-Naḥr, the 10th of the pilgrimage month Dhu-l-Ḥijjah. The first ceremony of the day is the pelting of the three *jimār* with seven stones each; then the victims are slain; next the pilgrim shaves and so terminates the iḥrām, and lastly he goes to Makkah to perform the ṭawāf and Sa'y returning afterwards to Minā.

[6] The text, which reads و الثالث من الايام الاخر is wrong here. It is not on the third day alone that the stoning of the *jimār* is prescribed, but on all three days of Minā, *viz.*, the 11th, 12th and 13th of Dhu-l-Ḥijjah. Pilgrims may even leave Minā on the second day without waiting to throw the stones on the third.

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(*This is the Jamratu-l-'Aqabah,*[1]) the first *Jamrah* [al-Ūlā] being near Masjidu-l-Khaif and the middle one [al-Wusṭā] between the first Jamrah and that of al-'Aqabah. Minā consists of two valleys along which the streets of the town range themselves. The Masjid[2] is on the right-hand road, and the Masjidu-l-Kabsh[3] in the vicinity of the pass [al-'Aqabah]. There are wells and cisterns and commercial houses and shops in Minā. The town is well built of stone and Indian teak, and lies between two hills that rise above and overlook it. Al-Muzdalifah is at one *farsakh* from Minā, and contains a place of prayer, a public fountain, a minaret[4] and several ponds of water. It is by the side of the mountain of Thabīr,[5] of which the Arabs were wont
77. to say 'Shine, O Thabīr, that we may stir,' but on this point there are differences. Al-Muzdalifah is also called Jam' and

[1] Vulgarly called Shaiṭānu-l-Kabīr, the "Great Devil." See the description of this *jamrah* in Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 282. Hughes is in error when he calls it Jamratu-l-'Aqibah and translates it by 'the last.'

[2] *I. e.*, Masjidu-l-Khaif. The mosque of Minā was so called from its situation on the declivity of a mountain and above the edge of a valley, this being the signification of *khaif*.

[3] A mosque said to have been founded by Lubābah, daughter of 'Alī ibn 'Abdu-llah ibnu-l-'Abbās, on a rock at the foot of the hill of Thabīr. This rock is believed to be the spot where Abraham sacrificed the ram in lieu of his son; hence the mosque is called Masjidu-l-Kabsh. *See* Azraqī, p. 401.

[4] This is the "minaret without the mosque" of which Burton speaks. 'Half way between Muna and Arafat—about three miles from both—there is something peculiarly striking in the distant appearence of the tall, solitary tower, rising abruptly from the desolate valley of gravel, flanked with buttresses of yellow rock.' *Pilgrimage*, III. 250.

[5] Thabīr, the northern wall of the Minā basin, and consequently on the left hand of one going from Makkah to 'Arafah. Others place it at al-Muzdalifah on the right hand of such a person; but unless there are two hills of this name, one in Minā and the other in al-Muzdalifah, which is not very probable, the weight of evidence is on the side of the Minā situation. Nor does this saying of the old Arabs when about to make the rush from al-Muzdalifah to Minā, necessarily require the hill to be in the former place as some have supposed. They are much more likely to have addressed a hill that was in front of them than one on which they were standing; and as they were bound to Minā, the Thabīr in this saying may rightly be located here. The *ifāḍhah*, from 'Arafah and al-Muzdalifah, which some writers think to have been ceremonies of farewell and salutation to the sun-god, were made in pre-Islamic times before sunset and after sunrise, when the sun rested on the top of the mountains. Muḥammad changed the hours to after sunset and before sunrise in opposition to the idolatrous Arabs.

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al-Mash'aru-l-Ḥarām.[1] 'Arafah is a village with corn-fields, vegetable gardens and melon-grounds; the inhabitants of Makkah have good houses here in which they lodge on the day of 'Arafah.[2] The *standing* place is at the reach of a man's voice from it, near a low, flat mountain; here are public fountains, reservoirs, a flowing canal and a pillar of masonry behind which the Imām takes his stand reciting prayers, while the people stand all round and on low flat hills in the neighbourhood. The Muṣallā, or place of prayer, is on the edge of the valley of 'Uranah,[3] on the confines of 'Arafah. It is not right to stand in the valley itself and if a person were to pass into it before the setting of the sun,[4] he will have to compensate by a sacrifice. On the boundary line of 'Arafah are white pillars to denote its precincts and in the Muṣallā[5] there is a pulpit built of bricks, and a large pond at the back of it. Two miles in front is the Ma'zimain,[6] the boundary of al-Ḥaram

[1] Jam' is a name for the whole of al-Muzdalifah, as the place where pilgrims assemble, but al-Mash'aru-l-Ḥarām, 'the sacred beacon' is a name of the holy hill of Quzaḥ [the Edomite god Kozé], at the end of the Muzdalifah valley.

[2] The ninth of the pilgrimage month Dhu-l-Ḥijjah. The stand (*wuqūf*) at 'Arafah is one of the central and essential ceremonies of the *ḥajj*. The *mauqif* or 'standing ground' is part of the plain of 'Arafah, an artificially limited space round the holy hill called the Hill of Mercy. Burton describes Jabalu-r-Raḥmah as 'a mass of coarse granite split into large blocks, with a thin coat of withered thorns, about one mile in circumference and rising abruptly from the low gravelly plain to the height of 180 or 200 feet.'

[3] Wādī 'Uranah, between the two pillars that define 'Arafah and those that mark the limits of the Sanctuary. This vale is not considered 'standing ground,' because Satan once appeared to the Prophet as he was traversing it (Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 258 note).

[4] *Cf.* The *Kifāyah* on the *Hidāyah*, vol. I., page 712. The Valley of 'Uranah is at the Meccan extremity of 'Arafah, between this place and al-Muzdalifah, so that it is the first place to be passed in the *ifāḍhah* from 'Arafah. The *ifāḍhah* must be made after sunset, and a man who moves out into the valley on his way to al-Muzdalifah before the setting of the sun makes himself liable to the sacrifice of a victim.

[5] This is Masjid Namirah where the Imām on the day of 'Arafah joins the noon and the *'aṣr* or afternoon prayers, saying them both at the noontide. This is the sole instance of prayers being said in advance of the proper time. In al-Muzdalifah the same evening, the opposite takes place when the sunset and nightfall prayers are said at the time fixed for the latter prayers.

[6] Al-Ma'zimain or al-Ma'zimān, the pass which Burton calls El-Akhshabayn or the "two rugged hills." (*Pilgrimage*, III. 251). "Here the spurs of the

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on this side. The Baṭn of Muḥassir is a valley between Minā and al-Muzdalifah serving as a limit to the latter. At-Tan'īm, is a place in which are several mosques built round Masjid 'Ā'ishah [1] as well as a number of public fountains. It is on the Madīnah road. At this place the Meccans assume the *iḥrām* for the 'Umrah ceremony. The Ḥaram or holy territory is surrounded by white pillars; its boundary on the western road [2] is near at-Tan'īm, a distance of three miles; it is nine miles on the road of al-'Irāq, on the Yaman road, seven miles, on the road of aṭ-Ṭā'if eleven miles, and on the great road [3] ten miles. Dhu-l-Ḥulaifah is a village near Yathrib, possessing a good mosque and having a number of wells in its neighbourhood, but not a person is to be found in it. Al-Juḥfah is a flourishing town inhabited by the Banū Ja'far; [4] it is commanded by a strong fortress which has two gates. It possesses a few wells and at a distance of two miles from it is a spring of water; it has also a large reservoir, but water sometimes becomes very scarce in it. Al-Juḥfah is a
78. hot-bed of fevers. It is related in a tradition that the Prophet of God, *peace and blessing be upon him*, said, 'O God, endear al-Madīnah to us as thou hast endeared Makkah, and even more, and transplant its fevers to al-Juḥfah.' [5] Qarn, a small town

hill limit the road to about 100 paces, and it is generally a scene of great confusion." This pass is also called al-Ma'ziq, "the Pass." Al-Ma'zimān is the dual form of Ma'zim, which means likewise *a narrow pass*.

[1] This is a mosque beyond the place called at-Tan'īm, at some distance from the boundary of the sacred territory. Its ancient name was the 'mosque of the Myrobalan tree,' and was changed to Mosque of 'Ā'ishah as denoting the spot from which 'Ā'ishah made her 'Umrah during the lifetime of the Prophet. People at the present day do not go as far as this place for their 'Umrah.

[2] In C. its boundary on the Madīnah road is at at-Tan'īm; this is the road used by the inhabitants of the west.

[3] For ǰaddah, the great road, Ibnu-l-Faqīh reads ǰaddah, Juddah. *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 23.

[4] The descendants of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Alī's brother, who was killed at Mu'tah in (A. H. 8), in the first campaign against the Greeks. He had both his arms struck off in the battle, but God gave him instead two wings wherewith to fly at pleasure in Paradise; hence he is called Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār. He had three sons by his wife Asmā', daughter of 'Umais, 'Abdu-llah, Muḥammad and 'Aun; but of his three sons, 'Abdu-llah only had descendants.

[5] The authorities for this tradition: Shāfi' ibn Muḥammad, 'Alī ibnu-r-Rajā', Abū 'Utbah, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf (al-Faryābī, *see* Nawawī, p. 286.

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beyond aṭ-Ṭā'if, on the road to Ṣan'ā'. Yalamlam, a halting-station on the road to Zabīd, in a flourishing state. Dhāt 'Irq, a village where are a number of wells, of which the water is easily accessible; it is a barren, dismal place, at two stages from Makkah. The following tradition is related on the authority of 'Abdu-llah ibn 'Umar;[1] he said, 'A man stood up in the Masjid and said, O Prophet of God, at what places dost thou command us to begin our pilgrimage?' The Prophet of God said in answer to this, 'The inhabitants of al-Madīnah begin the pilgrimage at Dhu-l-Ḥulaifah, the natives of Syria at al-Juḥfah, the people of Najd at Qarn.'—Ibn 'Umar here adds that some suppose the Prophet to have also said on another occasion that the inhabitants of al-Yaman begin the pilgrimage at Yalamlam, and the people of al-'Irāq at Dhāt 'Irq.[2] Adh-Dhabīb,[3] a mountain opposite al-Juḥfah, is the *mīqāt* of the west on the sea-coast; Shiqqān,[4] a place facing Yalamlam, is the maritime *mīqāt* of the Yamanites; and 'Aidhāb, a town opposite Juddah, on the other side of the sea, is the place where those who come by that way put on the

Died A. H. 212), Sufyān (ath-Thawrī), Hishām ibn 'Urwah (Nawawī, p. 607. Died A. H. 146), the father of this Hishām 'Urwah ibnu-z-Zubair (Nawawī, p. 420. Died 94), 'Ā'ishah.

[1] The authorities are: Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdu-llah al-Iṣbahānī, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq as-Sarrāj (*Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, ii. 226. Died A. H. 313), Qutaibah ibn Sa'īd (*Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, i. 734. Died 240), al-Laith ibn Sa'd (*Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, i. 479. Nawawī, p. 529. Died A. H. 175), Nāfi', the *Maulā* or freedman of Ibn 'Umar (Nawawī, p. 589), 'Abdu-llah ibn 'Umar (*ibnu-l-Khaṭṭāb*, Nawawī p. 357).

[2] From a tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī* it appears that it was not the prophet himself who appointed Dhāt 'Irq as the pilgrim station of the people of al-'Irāq. 'Abdu-llah ibn 'Umar relates that after the conquest of the country, the inhabitants of the two cities of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah represented to 'Umar that as Qarn, the pilgrim station of the Najdians, was greatly out of their way, it was a hardship to them to have to pass through it on their way to the pilgrimage. He therefore fixed upon Dhāt 'Irq as being parallel to Qarn on the straight road between al-'Irāq and Makkah. Dhāt 'Irq is 42 miles distant from Makkah.

[3] This place could not be identified from other sources. In one of the two manuscripts of the text according to a note by the editor, the name appears as adh-Dhunaib.

[4] This name too could not be identified. There is a village of Naisābūr called *Shiqqān*, from two mountains in its vicinity which each has a cleft (*shiqq*) through which the waters of those parts flow down. The *Shiqqān* of al-Yaman may have received its name from a like cause.

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iḥrām. These are the appointed pilgrim-stations for the provinces; should anyone pass beyond them on his way to Makkah and then return, in that case if he had uttered his shouts of *Labbaika*, he is not bound to compensate by an offering; some say, however, that the shouting of *Labbaika* does not release one from the necessity of such compensation, and others again, that no offering is required even in case the *talbiyah* was not uttered.[1] Never shall an inhabitant of the provinces pass beyond any pilgrim station without being clad in the *iḥrām*, even though that station were not the station appointed for natives of his province, as when a native of Syria passes through Dhu-l-Ḥulaifah for instance. The *mīqāt* of the Meccans in pilgrimage is Makkah itself. For the 'Umrah ceremony people have to go out to al-Ji'rānah, at a distance of one stage from Makkah, and there
79. assume the *iḥrām*. These, then, are the places connected with the rites and ceremonies of pilgrimage. The acts that are performed in them consist in all of three *Farā'iḍh*, six[2] *Wājibāt* and five *Sunan*. The *Farā'iḍh* are al-Iḥrām, the Wuqūf or stand at 'Arafah and the Ṭawāfu-z-Ziyārah.[3] The *Wājibāt* are the assuming of the pilgrim garb from the appointed stations, the *Sa'y* or course between aṣ-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, and the descent from 'Arafāt after sunset. The *Sunan* are the *ṭawāf* of arrival, the making the three first circuits of the ṭawāf in a trotting pace, the quick run at the Sa'y ceremony between the two milestones, the moving from al-Muzdalifah before sun-rise and the stay at Minā during the days known as the days of Minā. Some say that the Sa'y is a *Farḍh*, and some that the *ṭawāf* of arrival is a *Wājib*, and that the ṭawāf of departure is a *Sunnah*.

We shall now turn to the description of the towns of this district, and the adjacent parts in proper order. Aṭ-Ṭā'if is a

[1] *Cf. Al-Kifāyah fī sharḥi-l-Hidāyah*, p. 748.

[2] Only three are mentioned. The three omitted are *Ramyu-l-Jimār*, *al-Ḥalq* or shaving, and as inferred from what is said at the end of the paragraph *Ṭawāfu-l-Wadā'* or, as it is also called, *Ṭawāfu-ṣ-Ṣadar*. These terms sufficiently explain themselves; for further information the reader is especially referred to Burton's Chapter on the Pilgrimage, Vol. III, pp. 227 *et seq.*

[3] The *ṭawāf* or circumambulation of the Ka'bah is to be performed on three distinct occasions, on first arrival at Makkah, on departure from it, and after the *ifāḍhah* or impetuous descent from 'Arafah. This latter called Ṭawāfu-z-Ziyārah, is enjoined in the Qur'an, xxii. 27; and hence it forms an essential part of the pilgrimage.

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small town which in its fine climate and its cool water resembles a Syrian town. Most of the fruits of Makkah come from it. It produces pomegranates in abundance, raisins, fine grapes and excellent fruits. It is situated on the back of the Ghazwān hill, hence it happens that water freezes in it sometimes. The whole town is occupied by tanneries. Aṭ-Ṭā'if is the place to which the aristocracy of Makkah resort when oppressed by the heat (of their native town). Juddah is a town on the sea-shore, whence it derives its name.[1] It is fortified, flourishing and populous and its inhabitants are chiefly merchants and people of wealth. Juddah is the granary of Makkah and the emporium of al-Yaman and Egypt. It has a noble mosque. The water-supply however is not sufficient, although there are many reservoirs in the town. Water is brought from a distance. The Persians are the ruling class and live in splendid palaces. The streets are straight and the situation of the town excellent, but the heat is very great. Amaj is small and has five forts, two of stone and three of mud; the mosque is on the high road. Khulaiṣ is adjoining. It has a reservoir, and a canal, varieties of dates, as well as vegetable gardens and corn-fields. As-Suwāriqiyyah possesses a large number of forts, and many gardens and corn-fields and cattle. Al-Fur' and as-Sairah are two forts, in each one of which is a mosque. Jabalah is large and produces several articles of commerce; it is commanded by an impregnable fortress called al-Muhd, outside of which stands the mosque. Mahāyi' is as 80.
large as Jabalah, and situated on the edge of the valleys known by the name of Sāyah. Ḥādhah is a pleasant town belonging to the descendants of Abū Bakr; it has several forts and a large mosque.

Yathrib,—this is the City of the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, described in these pages as being a province on account of the many important towns and well-known coasts that surround it on all sides. In size it is somewhat less than half the area of Makkah. Gardens and groves of palm-trees and villages adjoin it on the greater part of its circuit. There are also a few corn-fields and springs of fairly good water, and by the gates of the city several ponds supplied from canals and reached by a series of steps. 'Umar, *may God be gracious to him*,

[1] One of the meanings of *juddah* is 'shore of the sea.' The name of this town is now generally pronounced Jiddah.

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had a canal brought to the very gate of the mosque, but it is now in a ruinous state. The market places are all near the mosque. The town has a bright and cheerful aspect. The inhabitants are mostly descendants of al-Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, *may God be gracious to them both.* The houses are built of mud, the soil is saline and the population scanty. The mosque is situated two-thirds down the town, on the side nearest to Baqī'u-l-Gharqad;[1] it is built on the model of the Damascus mosque and is not large. This and the mosque of Damascus are both the works of al-Walīd, son of 'Abdu-l-Malik; but the 'Abbāsides have added some portions to it. 'Were this mosque, the Prophet hath said, extended to Ṣan'ā',[2] it would still be my mosque.' The first to enlarge it was 'Umar;[3] he added to it the portion from the pillars which the *maqṣūrah*[4] faces in the present day to the southern wall. Next 'Uthmān[5] added from near the place of the Qiblah[6] to its present limits. Then comes the extension of al-Walīd.[7] He, however, did not extend it for the glory of God, but in order to make away with the house of al-Ḥasan, the son of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, *may God be gracious to him*, the door of which was inside the mosque, so that he was able to pass through it into the mosque when prayers were being held. It was built with chiselled stone and mosaic. 'Umar ibn-'Abdi-l-'Azīz[8]

[1] Baqī'u-l-Gharqad lies to the east of al-Madīnah. For an account of this famous cemetery see Burton's *Pilgrimage*, Vol. II, Chap. XXII. See also *ante*, page 82, note 5.

[2] Burton has aṣ-Ṣafā, which is evidently the true reading. *Pilgrimage*, II, 144.

[3] In A.H. 17. See Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II, 148, and Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 68.

[4] The *Maqṣūrah* of a mosque is that side of it which is towards Makkah. It is a roofed building originally reserved for the Imām, or officiating minister. It was first adopted by 'Uthmān as a protection from the attacks of assassins, his predecessor having been killed while engaged in prayers. *See* Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, page 71.

[5] In A.H. 29. Burton, II, 143. Wüstenfeld, 70.

[6] The niche showing the direction of Makkah, in the centre of the maqṣūrah. It is also called al-Miḥrāb.

[7] Burton, II, 144. Wüstenfeld, 72. Al-Walīd ibn-'Abdi-l-Malik was the sixth Caliph of the Banū Umayyah race, and not the twelfth as inadvertently stated by Burton. He reigned from 86 to 96 A.H.

[8] The then governor of al-Madīnah. He subsequently succeeded to the Caliphate and died in 101 after a reign of two years and five months.

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superintended the work of building, but when he was about to pull down the miḥrāb, he called in the elders of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and told them to be present at the building of their Qiblah, 'Lest, said he, you should say 'Umar has changed it.' In 81.
this extension of al-Walīd six pillars were added from the east westward; and he added in the direction of Syria fourteen pillars beginning from the square pillar that is in the mausoleum; of these pillars ten are in the court-yard and four in the porticoes. Latterly, when al-Mahdī [1] made his pilgrimage in the year 160, he added to the mosque a space of one hundred cubits on the Syrian side of it—a stretch of ten pillars. Its length at the present day is therefore 154 cubits and its breadth 163 cubits; [2] the court-yard has a length of 165 cubits and a breadth of 165 cubits. It is stated that al-Walīd wrote to the Emperor of the Greeks [3] 'We desire to have the great mosque of our Prophet re-built, do thou help me in this with skilled workmen and mosaic work,' whereupon he sent him several loads and more than twenty workmen, amongst whom were ten whose wages alone were worth one hundred and eighty thousand *dīnārs*. It is said that these men once found themselves alone in the mosque, whereupon one of them thus addressed his comrades 'I have a mind to defile the tomb of their prophet.' But no sooner had he prepared to carry his intention into effect than he dried up on the spot. Men are not agreed with respect to the position of the graves of the Prophet and his two companions. In one saying it is thus: the Prophet, next is Abū Bakr close behind him and lastly 'Umar behind Abū Bakr. According to the statement of Mālik ibn Anas, the Prophet is in the western side of the house, opposite him is a vacant place, at the back of the Prophet is Abū Bakr and at the back of the empty space 'Umar. This very space was the place mentioned to 'Umar ibn-'Abdi-l-'Azīz (for his interment) but of which he did not consider himself worthy. It is said that it is here that 'Īsā,[4] *peace be upon him*, will be

[1] Third Caliph of the Banu-l-'Abbās, 158-169. A.H.

[2] The text stands in need of emendation here. *Cf.* Wüstenfeld, 77.

[3] Justinian II, emperor of the East (A.D. 685-695 and 704-711), who was himself famous for his love of erecting magnificent buildings. *See* Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Vol II, 675*b*.

[4] Jesus. The following is a *résumé* of the authentic traditions with regard to the second advent of Christ. He will descend from Heaven and kill Anti-

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buried. Al-Qāsim [1] relates "I went in to 'Ā'ishah and said 'O mother, show me the graves of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, and his two companions;' upon this she disclosed to me three flat graves on the ground of the red court-yard, which were neither raised high nor laid low with the ground." The grave of the Prophet, he continues, was in front;
82. near his head was Abū Bakr with his feet between the shoulders of the Prophet, while 'Umar had his head at the feet of the Prophet. The pulpit is in the middle of the roofed sanctuary of the mosque; it forms a covering for the Prophet's pulpit, which is placed in a garden paved with marble. The garden celebrated in tradition [2] is by the side of a red column, between the pulpit and the grave. I have read in the chronicles of al-Madīnah that on a certain occasion Mu'āwiyah [3] ordered that the pulpit should be placed by the side of the miḥrāb as all pulpits are; but when they set about carrying it away the town quaked and thunderbolts fell down so that he ordered them to desist. He then had the present pulpit placed over it. The latter has five steps, but the old one had only three steps. The mosque has twenty gates. The town itself has four imposing gates: the gate of al-Baqī', the gate of ath-Thaniyyah, the gate of Juhainah and the gate of al-Khandaq. Al-Khandaq [4] (the Fosse) is on the Makkah side.

christ at the gate of Ludd (Lydda). He will come down not as an apostle, but as a just judge. He will, in honour of the followers of Islām, pray behind their Imām. It has further been said that he will marry while on earth, will beget children and will be buried at last close to the Prophet. *See* Nawawī, *Tahdhību-l-Asmā'*, p. 497.

[1] Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, A.H. 112. Nawawī, p. 507. The authorities for this tradition are: Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Faqīh, of Sāwah; Muḥammad ibn Hilāl ash-Shāshī; Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (as-Sarrāj, died 313. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, II, 226); Yūnus (ibn-'Abdi-l-A'lā, 170–264, Nawawī, p. 641); Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn-Abī-Fudaik; 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān; al-Qāsim.

[2] There is a tradition that the space between the tomb and the pulpit was called by the Prophet one of the gardens of Paradise. In accordance with this tradition this space has received the name of the Garden (ar-Rauḍhah). The place has been tawdrily decorated and painted to look like a garden. The marble-paved garden in which the pulpit stands, is likewise a figurative garden.

[3] Mu'āwiyah ibn-Abī Sufyān, founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Caliphs, who are known as the Khalīfahs of Damascus. His reign extended from 40–60 A.H. 661–80 A.D.

[4] This is the famous fosse which Muḥammad dug at the north-west

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The town is provided with a well-built, towering citadel. Al-Baqī' lies to the east of the city. The soil (of this suburb) is excellent. Here is the grave of Ibrāhīm,[1] the son of the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, and the graves of al-Ḥasan [2] and several of the companions. The grave of 'Uthmān is at its farthest end.[3] Qubā' is a village at two miles from al-Madīnah, on the left of the road to Makkah; it has many stone buildings and contains the Masjidu-t-Taqwā',[4] which is a well-built mosque with a paved street in front of it and a fine open area, as well as several consecrated spots. Qubā' has a supply of fresh water. Here is also Masjidu-ḍh-Ḍhirār,[5] which the common people piously set to demolish themselves. Uhud is a hill at a distance of three miles (from al-Madīnah). At the base of the hill is the tomb of

corner of al-Madīnah in A.H. 5, to protect the city against the attacks of the Quraish and their allies. It was beside the hill of Sal', on which in later times the citadel of the city was erected.

[1] Muḥammad's infant son by Māriyah, the Coptic girl who was sent him as a present by the Governor of Alexandria, al-Muqauqis. He was born A.H. 8 and died in his second year in A.H. 10. Nawawī, p. 132. Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II, 310. He had two other sons and four daughters, all of whom were born to him by Khadījah, his first wife. Both sons died in infancy, but his four daughters lived to the days of Islām, emigrating with him to al-Madīnah. Three of them died in his lifetime and Fāṭimah survived him six months only.

[2] Al-Ḥasan the son of 'Alī, and grandson of the Prophet. In A.H. 40 he succeeded his father in al-Kūfah but five or six months after he abdicated in favour of Mu'āwiyah and retired to al-Madīnah where eight years after he met his death by poison, at the hand it is said of one of his wives. His birth took place in the third year of the Hijrah.

[3] The body of 'Uthmān was buried in a field adjoining al-Baqī'. Marwān ibnu-l-Ḥakam afterwards added this field to the main burying-ground of al-Madīnah. See Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II, 306.

[4] The mosque of Qubā', the first place of public prayer in Islām, was originally built by Muḥammad's adherents at al-Madīnah before his emigration. It afterwards acquired the name of Masjidu-t-Taqwā', or the "Mosque of Piety," from a passage in the Qur'ān which alludes to this mosque as being founded on piety from the first day of its building. Cf. Qur'ān, IX. 109.

[5] Cf. Qur'ān, IX. 108. The Masjidu-ḍh-Ḍhirār, or the mosque for mischief, is a mosque built by certain hypocrites in rivalry of that of Qubā'. The Prophet was invited to consecrate this mosque, but seeing through the design of its founders he refused to do so and sent a party of men to demolish it, which they did and made of it a dunghill. A heap of rubbish must have marked the site in al-Muqaddasī's day; and on this the common people did their pious work of destruction.

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Ḥamzah [1] which lies within a mosque; there is a well in front of it and next to it an enclosure containing the graves of the Martyrs.[2] In the hill itself is a place wherein the Prophet once hid himself.[3] It is the nearest hill to al-Madīnah. Al-'Aqīq is a flourishing village at a distance of two miles; it lies towards Makkah and is the residence of the Governor. The water here is fresh. All the territory included between the two ridges of al-Madīnah is as sacred as the sacred territory of Makkah [4] itself.

83. Badr is a small town lying in the direction of the coast. Its dates are of a good quality. Here is to be found the spring of the Prophet,[5] *peace and blessing be upon him*, and the battle-field [6] and a number of mosques founded by the rulers of Egypt. Al-Jār is on the sea-coast; it is fortified and walled on three sides, the quarter facing the sea being open. It contains lofty mansions and a thriving market. Al-Jār is the granary of al-Madīnah and its townships. Water is carried to the town from Badr and food grains from Egypt. Its mosque has no courtyard. Al-'Ushairah is small; it is on the coast, opposite to Yanbu'.

[1] The battle of Uḥud was fought in the third year of the Hijrah (A.D. 625). The Prophet's uncle, Ḥamzah ibn-'Abdil-Muṭṭalib, "the lion of God," was slain in this battle after having done to death thirty-one of the infidels. Ḥamzah was two years the senior of Muḥammad. He was buried by Mount Uḥud, at the spot where he fell, and his tomb is a well-known place of visitation. See Nawawī, p. 218.

[2] The "Martyrs of Uḥud" who were slain at that famous battle in which Muḥammad himself was wounded. Their lust for plunder lost this battle to the Muslims, in whose favour it seemed at first to be going. Burton describes his visit to the Martyrs in Chap. XX. of his Pilgrimage. Their number is said to have been seventy.

[3] Burton, II. 233 and note *. It is a cave on the northern flank of the hill, in which the Prophet is said to have taken refuge when pursued by his enemies.

[4] Al-Madīnah owes its sanctity to the flight, residence and death of the Prophet, of whom many traditions are related bearing on this point. The two *lābahs* of al-Madīnah are the two *ḥarrahs*, or ridges of scoriaceous basalt on its east and west. The territory between the two *lābahs* has been declared to be sacred territory by Muḥammad himself. On the comparative sanctity of al-Madīnah and Makkah, see an excellent note by Burton on the sanctuary of the former city. *Pilgrimage*, II. 167 †. See also Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 303.

[5] This is probably the gushing fountain described by Ibn Baṭūṭah, *Voyages*, I. 295.

[6] This most celebrated and important battle was fought on the morning of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍhān, A.H. 9 (December, 623).

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A few palm trees grow near it. Its inn is unequalled. Yanbu' is a large and splendid town surrounded by a strong wall. It has a copious supply of water. It is in a more flourishing state than Yathrib and has larger groves of palm trees. Its citadel is well built and its market brisk. It has two gates, close to one of which stands the mosque. The descendants of al-Ḥasan dominate it. Ra'su-l-'Ain is twelve miles distant (from Yanbu'). Al-Marwah is a strongly fortified town abounding in palm trees and excellent dates. A wide canal supplies it with drinking water. It is surrounded by a ditch and guarded by iron gates. It abounds in bdellium[1] and an excellent variety of dates known as *burdī*. The town is hot in summer. It is dominated by the Banū Ja'far. Al-Ḥaurā' is the port of Khaibar; it has a fortress and a flourishing suburb with a market on the side which is facing the sea. Khaibar is a strong town as large as al-Marwah. It possesses a good mosque. Here is the gate which the Prince of the Faithful lifted by main force.[2] Khaibar, al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā' are the only towns in the Khaibar valley. The province of Qurḥ is also called Wādi-l-Qurā. The town of Qurḥ is the largest in al-Ḥijāz at the present day after Makkah, as well as the most flourishing and populous, and the most abounding with merchants, commerce and riches. It is commanded by an impregnable fortress, at the angle of which a castle rises. Villages encircle it on all sides and palm trees skirt it about; and, besides, it is possessed of very cheap dates and excellent bread and copious springs of water, pretty houses and busy markets. The town is surrounded by a ditch and has three gates covered with iron plates. The mosque is in the midst of the main streets of the town; there is a bone in the miḥrāb of this mosque said to be the bone which spoke to the Prophet saying, 'Do not eat me, I am poisoned.'[3] In fine

84.

1 بدّ *Bdellium.* Chamærops humilis.

2 In the attack on one of the strongholds of Khaibar, 'Alī happened to receive a blow which lost him his shield. He thereupon snatched up a gate which was near at hand and used it as a defensive weapon, not laying it down until the fortress was stormed. Abū Nāfi', the freedman of Muḥammad, who is responsible for this story, asserts that he tried with seven others to turn this gate on one side, but with all their combined force they failed to effect this. Ibn Hishām's *Life of Muḥammad* (Wüstenfeld), II. 762. The war with Khaibar, in which the Jews were completely ruined, was fought in 7 A.H. (628 A.D.).

3 At the end of the war with Khaibar a Jewess made an attempt to poison

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it is a Syrian, an Egyptian, an 'Irāqian and a Ḥijāzite town all in one, but the water is unwholesome and its dates of middling quality. The public bath is outside the town. Qurḥ is chiefly inhabited by Jews. Al-Ḥijr[1] is small and fortified. It has many wells and corn-fields. The Mosque of Ṣāliḥ is in close vicinity on a height; it is in the form of an open gallery, cut in a rock. In this place are to be found the marvels of Thamūd and their habitations.[2] Suqyā Yazīd is the finest town in this tract of country; a continuous line of palm trees and gardens connects it with Qurḥ. The mosque is outside the town. Badā Ya'qūb is on the highway of Egypt, flourishing and populous. Al-'Aunīd is the port of Qurḥ, a prosperous town having plenty of honey and a good anchorage.

Zabīd, the capital of Tihāmah, is the second of the two metropolises of the Peninsula, it being the residence of the kings of al-Yaman. It is a splendid, well-built town, called commonly the Baghdād of al-Yaman. The inhabitants are somewhat polished and there are many merchants, grandees, learned and literary men among them. The town is profitable to visitors and beneficial to settlers. The wells are sweet and the baths clean. It has a mud fortress and four gates, Bāb Ghalāfiqah, Bāb 'Adan, Bāb Hishām[3] and Bāb Shabāriq. Around it are many villages and corn-fields and it is on the whole more thriving and populous and of greater natural abundance than Makkah. The buildings are of brick, the houses being spacious and comfortable. The mosque is far off from the market places, it is clean

Muḥammad with a roasted sheep which she had steeped in poison especially in the shoulder, she having learned that the prophet had a special liking for this part of a sheep. The prophet sat at table with one of his companions, Bishr ibnu-l-Barā'. They both took a piece. Bishr ate his morsel and died from its effect. Muḥammad, however, threw his portion out of his mouth and exclaimed, 'This bone tells me it is poisoned.' The woman confessed her guilt and was pardoned according to Ibn Hishām, *Life*, II. 764. Another account, however, says that she was handed over to the relatives of Bishr who put her to death. *See* Ibn Khaldūn, Būlāq edition, page 39 of the Supplement to the Second Volume.

[1] See this translation, page 108, note 4.

[2] See above, page 109, note 7.

[3] This should be Bāb Sihām. The gate of Sihām, or Sahām, is on the north of the town and leads to Wādī Sihām (Vide *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, VIII. 352) The gate of Ghalāfiqah is on the west and leads to Ghalāfiqah, the port of Zabīd. The gate of 'Adan is on the south. This gate is also called Bābu-l-Qurtub from a village of that name on the Wādī Zabīd. The fourth gate,

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and its floor is cemented. Beneath the pulpit there is a hollow so as to keep the line (of worshippers) unbroken. Ibn Ziyād[1] had a stream of running water brought up to the town. In short Zabīd is a noble town, unequalled all over al-Yaman; but its markets are narrow places, prices are high in it and fruits scarce. The staple food of the inhabitants is *dukhn* and *dhurah*.[2] Ma'qir is on the road to 'Adan; so also are 'Abrah, Ghārah and al-Makhnaq. These are all small towns. 'Adan is a large, flourishing and populous town, strongly fortified and pleasant. It is the gateway of aṣ-Ṣīn and the sea-port of al-Yaman, the granary of al-Maghrib and the depôt of all kinds of merchant goods. There are many palatial buildings in it. It is a source of gain for those who visit it and a mine of wealth to those who take up their residence in it. Besides, there are found in it good mosques, ample facilities for earning one's livelihood, purity of life and evident signs of prosperity; indeed, the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, has specially blessed the markets of both Minā and 'Adan. The town is in the form of a sheep-pen encircled by a mountain which surrounds it down to the sea, while an arm of the sea passes behind this mountain, so that the town is only approached by fording this arm of the sea and thus gaining access to the mountain. A through passage has wonderfully been cut in the rock and an iron gate placed at the entrance, while a wall having in it five gates has been erected on the side facing the sea from one end of the mountain to the other. The mosque is distant from the markets. There are in the town wells of saltish water and several reservoirs. It is said that 'Adan was in ancient times the prison house of Shaddād, the son of 'Ād. It is however a

85.

Bāb Shabāriq, is on the east. It leads to the village of Shabāriq, also on the river Zabīd. Cf. Kay's *History of Yaman*, page 220–21.

[1] The town of Zabīd which was formerly called al-Ḥusaib (not Alkhassyb, as stated by Reinaud on the authority of M. de Sacy, *see* Géographie d'Aboulfeda, II. 120, note 6), was founded in 204 A.H. (820 A.D.), by Ibn Ziyād, the first of the dynasty of the Ziyādites, the princes of Zabīd. 'Umārah gives an account of the circumstances under which Muḥammad ibn Ziyād was appointed governor of al-Yaman by al-Ma'mūn. (*History of Yaman*, Kay, p. 2). Another distinguished prince of this family who also bore the name of Ibn Ziyād, was Abu-l-Juyūsh Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm who died in 371, after a long reign of over eighty years.

[2] These are varieties of millet. *Dukhn* is the *holcus saccharatus* of Linn.; *dhurah*, the *holcus sorghum*.

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barren and dismal place, with neither cultivation, nor cattle, nor trees, nor fruits, nor water, nor herbage. Besides, it is much exposed to fires and shipwrecks are frequent,[1] while the mosque is a squalid building, the uproar terrible and the baths ill-kept places. Water has to be carried to the town from a distance of one stage. Abyan is older than 'Adan; it is after this town that 'Adan is designated,[2] for it supplies 'Adan with all its wheat, fruits and vegetables, there being a large number of villages and corn-fields around it. Such also is the town of Lahj.[3] Mandam is situated on the sea. Here sailing ships are entrapped by the wind. It is a town of some importance, but destitute of fertility. Mukhā is a flourishing town in the district of Zabīd; it produces a large quantity of sesamum-oil. The inhabitants get their drinking water from a spring outside the town; and the mosque is
86. at the extremity of the town, on the sea-shore. Ghalāfiqah is the port of Zabīd; it has a mosque on the strand, which the people seem to hold in special reverence and are assiduous in attending at all the times of prayer. It is flourishing and populous and possesses palm-plantations and cocoa-nut trees and wells of fresh water. The climate, however, is pestilential and deadly to foreigners. Ash-Sharjah, al-Ḥirdah and 'Aṭanah, three towns on the sea-shore. Here are the granaries of millet which is exported to 'Adan and Juddah. It is a land of milk, but water has to be brought thither from a distance. The mosques of these towns are built on the shore of the sea. The province of 'Aththar is an extensive region governed by an independent chief. It contains some fine towns. 'Aththar is a large and pleasant town and a well-known place, as it is the chief city of the district and a seaport of Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah; it contains a good market and a fine mosque. Water has to be brought to the town from afar and the public bath is filthy. Baish has a finer climate than 'Aththar, and purer water. It is the residence of the Governor, whose house is

1 This appears to be the sense of the passage; cf, M. de Goeje's Glossary under وكف.

2 'Adan is more particularly called 'Adan-Abyan to distinguish it from another town of the same name which is known as 'Adan-Lā'ah. Cf. Kay's *History of Yaman*, p. 232.

3 The correct form of this word is Laḥj. It was so called after Laḥj ibn Wā'il, a descendant of Ḥimyar.

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situated by the side of the mosque. Al-Juraib is famous for its plantains; of the towns of this district, it is the best-provided by nature and the most pleasant in my view. Ḥaly is a littoral town flourishing and prosperous and with abundant supplies. As-Sirrain is a small town with a fort containing the mosque. By the gate of the town there is a reservoir for water. It is the port of as-Sarawāt. The latter region is the seat of grains; it abounds in good things and has varieties of bad dates and plentiful honey. I do not know if it contains towns or only villages, as I have not entered it. Ṣan'ā' is the capital of Najdu-l-Yaman; it was formerly greater than Zabīd and more prosperous, and the distinction belonged to it. It has now greatly declined, but there are still in it many learned men whose equals I have not found in the whole of al-Yaman for dignified appearance and intellectual powers. Ṣan'ā' is a large city which abounds in fruits and in which low prices rule and where bread of a good quality is to be found, as well as many profitable articles of commerce. It is larger than Zabīd and as to its climate, thou needest not enquire about that, it is simply wonderful! With all these advantages the fertility of the soil is such as to relieve man from the necessity of toiling. Ṣa'dah is smaller than Ṣan'ā', a flourishing town in 87
the mountains. Here the best water-skins and leathern carpets are manufactured and excellent leather is exported from it. It is the city of the 'Alawiyyah[1] and the seat of their government. Jurash is a town of middling size; it contains groves of palm-trees, whereas al-Yaman is not a country of palms. Najrān is about the size of Jurash; both one and the other are smaller than Ṣa'dah. Most of the leather of commerce comes from these towns. Al-Ḥimyarī[2] is the same place as the City of Qaḥṭān; it is between Zabīd and Ṣan'ā' and has many villages; but the

[1] An account of this branch of the descendants of 'Alī, who ruled at Ṣa'dah for many centuries, will be found further on when speaking of the political divisions of Arabia.

[2] The Ḥimyarites who were known to the Greeks by the name of Homeritae occupied the south promontory of Arabia Felix from a very early period. Their rich and fertile territory was very advantageously situated for commerce. The power of this people, whose descent is traced in Oriental history to Ḥimyar b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān, appears to have been very extended. (*See* Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I. 1090 *a*). Yāqūt calls this town Ḥimyar and adds that it is in the occupation of the descendants of Ḥimyar ibnu-l Ghauth who is known as

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climate is unhealthy and pestilential. It is a town profitable to merchants. Al-Ma'āfir is an extensive territory with corn-fields, villages and many advantages. Saba', a region in the back ground of these countries; the town proper is in a prosperous condition but the surrounding country is desolate. Ḥaḍhramaut is the capital of al-Aḥqāf, built in the sands at a great distance from the sea. It is flourishing and contains a large number of inhabitants who are men inclined to virtue and learning, but withal heretical and very dark-coloured. Ash-Shiḥr is a town on the sea; it is the home of gigantic fishes which are exported to 'Umān and 'Adan and thence to al-Baṣrah and the towns of al-Yaman. Here are trees which exude frankincense. There is no trace of the site of Iram of the Columns; from Laḥj to it is a distance of two *farsakhs* on a level country; it is seen glimmering in the distance, but when thou approachest thou seest nought. The water
88 of 'Adan is brought from this place. Sakhīn ? is a town belonging to (an off-shoot of) the Quraish known as the Banū Sāmah.[1] I have heard that they number four thousand archers. Ash-Shuqrah contains the habitations of Khath'am.[2] There are palm-trees and villages surrounding the town.

And let it be known that al-Yaman is an extensive country, in which I passed one whole year in visiting the towns I have already described; but a great deal has no doubt escaped me. I shall however relate all that I heard from well-informed people regarding this country and shall give an exhaustive list of its *mikhlāfs* (districts), though I have not visited them all, for this is a country known by its *mikhlāfs*. I shall also speak of the position and form of the Peninsula of the Arabs, describing it in such a way as to be understood by all, *if God, the Most High, so will it*. The *Makhālif* (districts) of al-Yaman are:—The *mikhlāf* of Ṣan'ā'; al-Khashab[3]; Ruḥābah[4]; Marmal; the *mikhlāf* of

Ḥimyaru-l-Adnā, or the Later, the great progenitor of the race, Ḥimyar b. Saba', is called Ḥimyaru-l-Akbar, or the Elder, while his great-grandson, Ḥimyar ibn Saba' al-Aṣghar, is called Ḥimyaru-l-Aṣghar, or the Younger.

[1] Sāmah ibn Lu'ayy. See *Kitābu-l-Iṣhtiqāq* of Ibn Duraid, pp. 16 and 68.

[2] See *Kitābu-l-Iṣhtiqāq*, p. 304. Khath'am, a tribe of Yamanic origin who dwelt in the north of al-Yaman in the great chain of mountains called the Sarāt. Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 37.

[3] Yāqūt II. 445, Dhū Khashab.

[4] Or ar-Ruḥābah. The first station on the road from Ṣan'ā' to Makkah.

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al-Baun[1]; the *mikhlāf* of Khaiwān.[2] To the right of Ṣan'ā', the *mikhlāf* of Shākir; Wādi'ah; Yām; Arḥab. In the direction of aṭ-Ṭā'if,[3] the *mikhlāf* of Najrān; Turabah; al-Mahjarah; Kuthbah; Jurash; as-Sarāt. In Tihāmah,[4] Ḍhankān;[5] 'Asham; Bishah;[6] 'Akk.[7] The *mikhlāf* of al-Ḥirdah;[8] the *mikhlāf* of Hamdān;[9] 89
the *mikhlāf* of Jauf Hamdān; the *mikhlāf* of Jauf Murād;[10] the *mikhlāf* of Shanū'ah; Ṣudā'; Ju'fi;[11] the *mikhlāf* of al-Jasrah; the *mikhlāf* of al-Mashriq; Būshān; Ghudar; the *mikhlāf* of A'lā and An'um;[12] al-Baiḍhatain;[13] Banī Ghuṭaif;

[1] According to Yāqūt I. 763, there are two districts of this name, one called al-Baunu-l-A'lā or the upper, and the other al-Baunu-l-Asfal or the lower. Al-Baun is described as one of the largest of the districts of Najdu-l-Yaman. It contains many villages, of which the principal one is Raidah where the Deserted Well and the Lofty Palace of Qur'ān XXII. 44 are said to have been situated. *Cf.* Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 137.

[2] Khaiwān is called after one of the Yamanite tribes. Here was the idol called Ya'ūq, which Khaiwān the father of the tribe had received from 'Amr ibn Luḥayy, who is said to have been the first to introduce idolatry into Arabia. It is at a distance of 24 *farsakhs* from Ṣan'ā', on the road to Makkah. *Cf.* Yāqūt II. 512. See also *Géographie d'Aboulfeda* II. 128.

[3] The six following *mikhlāfs* are described by Ibn Khurdādhbah and others as dependencies of Makkah in the mountainous district of Najd. They form accordingly part of al-Ḥijāz. The boundary between al-Ḥijāz and al-Yaman has been set by an ordinance of the Prophet near an *acacia* tree called Ṭalḥatu-l-Malik, which is between Sharūm Rāḥ on one side and al-Mahjarah on the other. The latter is described as a large and populous village in the mountains, abounding in springs of water. It is at a distance of 60 *farsakhs* from Ṣan'ā', the capital of Najdu-l-Yaman.

[4] These are generally given as dependencies of Makkah in Tihāmah. *Cf.* Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 133.

[5] Marsā (the port of) Ḍhankān is on the western coast of al-Yaman, south of Ḥaly. Ibn Khurd., 148.

[6] Bishah is one of the *mikhlāfs* of Makkah in Najd. The *mikhlāf* which is in Tihāmah is called Baish. *Cf.* Ibn Khurd., p. 133.

[7] On the sea coast, south of Ghalāfiqah, Ibid., p. 148.

[8] On the coast. Ibid., p. 148.

[9] North of Ṣan'ā', between this town and Ṣa'dah. Yāqūt IV. 438.

[10] Yāqūt II. 158. *Jauf* signifies a hollow or bottom ground.

[11] Shanū'ah, Ṣudā' and Ju'fī are each at 42 *farsakhs* from Ṣan'ā'. Ibn Khurd., p. 138.

[12] Yāqūt has A'lāqu-An'um, which in the *Tāju-l-'Arūs* incorrectly appears as A'lāqu-l-Fam.

[13] Al-Baiḍhatain is a place on the road between Syria and Makkah. The name of the *mikhlāf* is al-Maṣna'atain. *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 138 and Yāqūt IV. 556.

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Qaryat (village of) Ma'rib ;[1] the *mikẖlāf* of Ḥaḍhramaut; the *mikẖlāf* of Khaulān Rudā' ;[2] the *mikẖlāf* of Aḥwar ; the *mikẖlāf* of al-Ḥaql ;[3] Dẖimār ;[4] the *mikẖlāf* of Ibn 'Āmir ;[5] the *mikẖlāf* of Thāt and Radā' ;[6] the *mikẖlāf* of Dathīnah ;[7] the *mikẖlāf* of ash-Sharaf ; the *mikẖlāf* of Ru'ain ; the *mikẖlāf* of Nasafān ; Kaḥlān; the *mikẖlāf* of Ḍhankān; Raiḥān ;[8] the *mikẖlāf* of Nāfi' ; Maṣḥā ;[9] the *mikẖlāf* of Ḥujr and Badr ;[10] Aḥlah ;[11] aṣ-Ṣahab ;[12] the *mikẖlāf* of Līkhah ;[13] al-Mazra' ;[14] *mikẖlāf* Dẖī Makārim ;[15] al-Umlūk ; the *mikẖlāf* of as-Salif ;[16] the

[1] The celebrated capital of the Sabæi in Yaman, built according to Arab traditions by 'Abd-Shams surnamed Saba, who also constructed the famous reservoir which supplied the city with water and irrigated the neighbouring lands. The bursting of the embankment of this reservoir and the subsequent inundation forms an episode in Arabian history. It is referred to in the Qur'ān XXXIV. 15. *See* Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* II. 274 *b*.

[2] It is here that the Valley of the Ants (Qur'ān XXVII. 18) is located. Ibn Khurd., p. 138.

[3] Called also Ḥaql Jahrān, Yāqūt II. 299. Yāqūt mentions Jahrān as being one of the *mikẖlāfs* in the neighbourhood of Ṣan'ā', IV. 438.

[4] At sixteen *farsakẖs* from Ṣan'ā'. It is also called Dẖamār.

[5] Yāqūt and Ibn Khurdādẖbah Banī 'Āmir; so also al-Ya'qūbī and Qudāmah.

[6] Yāqūt mentions Thāt and Radā' as the two Persian colonies in al-Yaman. II. 772.

[7] Between al-Janad and 'Adan.

[8] This should be Dẖubḥān. See Ibn Khurd., p. 139 *d*.

[9] The reading is doubtful. The editor believes the name to be Yaḥṣib. Of the two places called by this name, this would be Ilwu-Yaḥṣib, Siflu-Yaḥṣib being mentioned further on by the author. In the Tihāmah there is a considerable village called Ḍhaḥiyy, on the pilgrim road between Zabīd and Makkah. *See* Tāju-l-'Arūs X. 217.

[10] Yāqūt II. 212.

[11] There can be no doubt that the true reading is Khallah, which the author of the *Tāju-l-'Arūs* places in the neighbourhood of 'Adan, near Saba' Ṣuhaib next mentioned.

[12] Ibn Khurdādẖbah aṣ-Ṣuhaib. This must be Saba' Ṣuhaib mentioned in Yāqūt III. 28. See the preceding note. Next to Ṣuhaib in Ibn Khurdādẖbah the following *mikẖlāfs* are mentioned: *mikẖlāf* Laḥj ; *mikẖlāf* Abyan, where 'Adan is situated ; *mikẖlāf* Ba'dān and Raimān.

[13] This should be ath-Thujjah. *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 139 *k*.

[14] In Yāqūt al-Muzdara', IV. 519. [15] Ibn Khurdādẖbah, Dẖī Makārib.

[16] As-Salif or more correctly as-Sulaf which, according to the author of the *Qāmūs*, is the name of an offset of the Ḥimyarite tribe of Dẖu-l-Kalā'. *Cf.* Yāqūt III. 119.

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mikhlāf of al-Adam; the *mikhlāf* of Najlān; Nahb; the *mikhlāf* of al-Janad;[1] the *mikhlāf* of as-Sakāsik.[2] On the Ma'āfir side: the *mikhlāf* of az-Ziyādī; the *mikhlāf* of al-Ma'āfir; *mikhlāf* Banī 91
Majid;[3] the *mikhlāf* of ar-Rakb; the *mikhlāf* of Saqf; the *mikhlāf* of al-Mudhaikhirah; the *mikhlāf* of Ḥamul; Shar'ab; the *mikhlāf* of 'Unnah; 'Unnābah.[4] On the other side, the *mikhlāf* of Wuḥādḥah; the *mikhlāf* of Sifl-Yaḥṣib;[5] the *mikhlāf* of al-Qanā'ah;[6] al-Wardiyyah;[7] al-Ḥujr. The *mikhlāf* of Zabīd, opposite to which is[8] the *mikhlāf* of Rima'; the *mikhlāf* of Muqrā; the *mikhlāf* of Alhān; the *mikhlāf* of Jublān; *mikhlāf* Dhī Jurrah;[9] the *mikhlāf* of al-Batam; the *mikhlāf* of al-Yamm(?) On the farther side of Ṣan'ā'; the *mikhlāf* of Khaulān; the *mikhlāf* of Mīsāri';[10] the *mikhlāf* of Ḥarāz and Hauzan; the *mikhlāf* of 92
Al-Ukhrūj; the *mikhlāf* of Majnaḥ; the *mikhlāf* of Ḥaḍhūr; the *mikhlāf* of Mājin;[11] the *mikhlāf* of Wāḍhi'; al-Ma'lal; al-'Uṣbah;[12] the *mikhlāf* of Ḥiyāḍh;[13] Milḥān; Ḥakam and Jāzān; Marsā-sh-Sharjah; the *mikhlāf* of Ḥajūr; the *mikhlāf* of Qudum;[14].....the

1 At 58 *farsakhs* from Ṣan'ā'. Yāqūt II. 127.

2 The last of the districts of al-Yaman.

3 Yāqūt mentions a *mikhlāf* under the name of *Banī Nujaid*, where he says the best kind of onyx, that known as al-Baqarānī, is found.

4 Ibn Khurdādhbah here adds the *mikhlāf* of as-Saḥūl (called also as-Suḥūl) and that of Banī Ṣa'b which in Yāqūt is called *mikhlāf* Ṣa'b.

5 Or Lower Yaḥṣib. Yāqut III. 98.

6 This should be al-Qufā'ah. *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 141 *g* and Yāqūt IV. 147.

7 In Ibn Khurdādhbah as well as in the works of Yāqūt and others this place is called al-Wazīrah.

8 Probably after بازائه in the text we should supply the words ساحل غلافقة و ساحل المندب 'the coasts of Ghalāfiqah and al-Mandab. *Cf.* Ibn Khurd., p. 141.

9 Or *mikhlāf* Dhī Jurah. *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 141 *t*.

10 Both in Ibn Khurdādhbah and Yāqūt this *mikhlāf* is called Mihsā'.

11 *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 142 *l*.

12 *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 143 *g*.

13 In Ibn Khurdādhbah, Khunāsh, p. 143. Yāqūt mentions a *mikhlāf* by the name of Khunās, II. 473.

14 Called also Qudam. *See* Yāqūt IV. 39. This is followed in the Arabic text by the word وحاذي which the editor has taken to be the name of a *mikhlāf*. (*See* Index Geographicus, p. 123). It seems probable, however, that the word is وحاذي and that we should supply قرية محجرة *Cf.* Ibn Khurd., p. 143, and also Yāqūt IV. 39, where the *mikhlāf* of Qudam is described as facing the village of Mahjarah.

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mikhlāf of Ḥayyah and al-Kaudan ;[1] the *mikhlāf* of Maskh ;[2] the *mikhlāf* of Kindah and as-Sakūn ; the *mikhlāf* of aṣ-Ṣadif.

Ṣuḥār is the capital of 'Umān. There is not on the Sea of China at the present day a more important town than this. It is a flourishing and populous city, and a beautiful, pleasant and lovely place. It is also a city of wealth and many merchants, and a place abounding in fruits and natural resources. It is greater than Zabīd and Ṣan'ā' ; it contains excellent markets and is beautifully laid out along the shore of the sea. Its lofty and splendid houses are built of burned bricks and teak-wood. Its mosque is on the sea-shore at the further end of the markets, with a beautiful, high minaret. They have wells of brackish but drinkable water and a canal of fresh water, and supplies of every description abound. Ṣuḥār is the gateway of China, and the emporium of the East and al-'Irāq ; it also furnishes al-Yaman with the necessaries of life. The Persians are masters in it. The place where open prayers are held is in the midst of the palm-plantations. Masjid Ṣuḥār is at a distance of half a *farsakh* from the town ; there it was that the camel of the Prophet,
93 *peace and blessing be upon him*, knelt down.[3] It has been built in the best style ; and the atmosphere is purer here than at the capital. The miḥrāb of this mosque has been made to revolve on an axis ; it is seen now yellow, now green and at another time red. Nazwah[4] is a large town on the skirts of the mountains. The buildings in it are of mud. The mosque is in the midst of the market place ; it is flooded when the river overflows in winter. The inhabitants drink from streams and wells. As-Sirr is smaller than Nazwah. The mosque is in the market. Streams and wells supply the town with water. It is thickly surrounded with palm-trees. Ḍhank is a small town in the midst of palm groves, always governed by a strong hand as the inhabitants are turbulent heretics. Ḥafīt abounds in palm-trees ; it is on the side of Hajar, with its mosque in the middle of the markets. Salūt is a large town, on the left side of Nazwah.

[1] Ibn Khurd. al-Kaudhan, p. 143.

[2] *See* Ibn Khurd., p. 143 *q*.

[3] Yāqūt remarks on this that he is not aware under what circumstances the Prophet's camel knelt there ; nor can any explanation be suggested for what appears on the face of it to be a fiction.

[4] Nazwah was at one time the capital of the Imāms of 'Umān. *See* Badger's *Imāms and Seiyyids of 'Omān*. It is marked in the map attached to this work.

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Dabā and Jullafār[1] are both in the direction of Hajar and are near to the sea. Samad is a township of Nazwah. Lasyā, Milaḥ, Barnam,[2] al-Qal'ah and Ḍhankān are other towns. Al-Masqaṭ is the first place which confronts ships approaching from al-Yaman; I have seen it, a pleasant place abounding in fruits. Tu'ām is held in possession by a branch of the Quraiṣh. They are men of valour and strength. The province of 'Umān is large, measuring about eighty *farsakhs* in length as well as in breadth; it is thickly covered with palm-trees and gardens, and the water-supply is chiefly obtained from wells, the water of which is near to the surface. The water is drawn by means of cattle. Most of these wells are in the mountains. The towns here described are mainly inhabited by heretic Arabs.

Al-Aḥsā'[3] is the capital of Hajar, which is also called al-Baḥrain.[4] It is large and abounding in palm-trees, flourishing and populous, but a place of great heat and scarcity. It is situated at one stage from the sea and is as one may say a fountain head of trade. There are a number of islands in the vicinity. This town is the residence of the Qarāmiṭah 94
who are descended from Abū Sa'īd.[5] The government is just and equitable; but the mosque is abandoned. In the neighbourhood are to be found the treasure-town of al-Mahdī[6] and other

[1] Jullafār or Jurrafār is identified with the modern Rās-el-Khaimah. *See* Badger, *opus cit.*, page 24, *note* 1, and page 322 *note*. Dabā figures in the map as Dibbah

[2] All three names uncertain.

[3] Al-Aḥsā', the capital of al-Baḥrain, was founded by Abū Ṭāhir ibn Abī Sa'īd al-Jannābī, chief of the Qarāmiṭah of al-Baḥrain. It was so called from the existence in its vicinity of *ḥisy* which are strata of stone or clay where the water absorbed by the sandy ground collects. These *ḥisy* are common in the deserts of Arabia.

[4] Al-Baḥrain is said to be the Havilah of Scripture. *See* Smith's *Dictionary of G. and R. Geography*, I. 1032 *b*.

[5] Abū Ṣa'īd al-Jannābī, who first appeared at al-Baḥrain in 286 A.H. in the reign of al-Mu'taḍhid. At the time of his death in 301 he was master of Hajar, al-Aḥsā', al-Qaṭīf and the whole district of al-Baḥrain. The dynasty of Abū Sa'īd came to an end in 366 when the supreme Government was vested in a council of six who were called Sādah or Sayyids. *See* de Sacy's Chrestomathie, II. 126.

[6] The Qarmatian schism was based like many others of its kind on the doctrine of the early appearance of the Mahdī or divine leader who was to be of the house of 'Alī and whose teaching was to supersede the Qur'ān.

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treasure-towns which also belong to them. Part of the treasure is kept in that and the remainder in their own towns. Az-Zarqā' and Sābūn are among their treasure-towns; so also is Uwāl, which is on the sea. The rest of the towns are near to the sea. Al-Yamāmah forms a province by itself, with al-Ḥajr for its capital. This town is large and produces dates of a good quality. It is surrounded by a number of forts and towns, one of which being Al-Falaj.

The form of this Peninsula, be it known, is like a hall, open in front and somewhat longer than it is broad, in which a couch has been placed from the front side to the door, with empty spaces between it and each of the two walls on its right and left. This couch is of two pieces. The inner piece represents Najdu-l-Yaman, a mountainous region in which are found Ṣan'ā', Ṣa'dah, Jurash, Najrān and the City of Qaḥṭān. 'Adan is exactly in the front of the hall at the end of the mountains, for the three walls of the hall are the Sea of China itself. This region of the Sarawāt (highlands) is highly cultivated and produces grapes and corn. The space which is on the right of (this piece of) the couch is Tihāmah, where Zabīd and its townships are to be found. The space on the left is (likewise) called Najdu-l-Yaman; it comprises al-Aḥqāf and Mahrah, to the borders of al-Yamāmah. Some include al-Yamāmah and 'Umān in this tract. This piece of the couch with the open spaces on its two sides is together the country of al-Yaman. The piece of the couch nearer the door of the hall is called al-Ḥarrah; it extends from the borders of al-Yaman to Qurḥ, a range of mountains barren in all its parts and not producing except thorny trees and panic grass[1] serving as food for cattle. In this part are situated al-Ḥaram, al-'Umaq,[2] Ma'dinu-n-Naqirah[3] and the neighbouring deserts. The space on the right is called al-Ḥijāb.[4] Al-Ḥijāz is of little extent; it contains

[1] *Thumām*, applied to several species of panic grass but restricted by Forskol to *panicum dichotomum*, called by Delile *pennisetum dichotomum*. *See* Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon *sub voce*.

[2] Al-'Umaq is a station on the pilgrim road between Baghdād and Makkah, at six stages from the latter.

[3] Called also Ma'dinu-l-Quraishī, the mine of the Quraishite. It is on the pilgrim road of al-'Irāq, at ten stages from Makkah. Naqrah or Naqirah means 'high ground rising out of low-lying ground.'

[4] Al-Ḥijāb literally means the place where a stony country (*ḥarrah*) breaks off. Al-Muqaddasī uses the word as a name for the coasts of al-Ḥijāz. Perhaps for al-Ḥijāz mentioned immediately after we should likewise read al-Ḥijāb.

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Yanbu', al-Marwah, al-'Amīṣ[1] and the coasts, places which are inhabited and covered with palm-trees. The space on the left is called Najdu-l-Ḥijāz; within it are al-Yamāmah and Faid and the halting-stations on the great pilgrim-road. This portion 95
of the couch with the spaces on each side is the country of al-Ḥijāz. Hajar is included in this portion; while opposite to the door of the hall stretches the desert. These divisions I have made from actual survey,—and God knows best!

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THIS PROVINCE.

This province is an intensely hot country, with the exception of the Sarawāt hill range which has a temperate climate. It has been related to me that a certain man of the inhabitants of Ṣan'ā' once cooked a pot of meat and then left to go to the pilgrimage. On his return, he found it was not changed in condition. Their clothing is the same both in winter and summer. The nights in the summer season at Makkah are pleasant, but oppressive in Tihāmah. In 'Umān there falls during the night something like the juice of dates; while in the Ḥaram (sacred territory) the heat is excessive, a deadly wind blows and there are myriads of flies. Fruits are scarce except in the Sarawāt region. Al-Yaman is destitute of palm trees and waters are not abundant; while the coasts are barren and waterless, excepting Ghalāfiqah. These places became inhabited solely on account of the sea. There is not in the whole province a lake or a river navigable for ships. Doctors of law are few, and so are preachers and readers. Jews are more numerous in it than Christians, while of other tributary sects there are none. I have not met any affected with leprosy[2] there. Ibn 'Abbās[3] explains the words 'in the winter and summer caravans'[4] by saying they passed the winter in Makkah and the summer in aṭ-Ṭā'if; and

[1] Al-'Amīs, Yāqūt III. 731.

[2] مجذوم *majdhūm*. Afflicted with جذام *judhām*. True, tubercular, or anœsthetic leprosy known formerly as Elephantiasis Græcorum.

[3] The author's authority for this tradition is al-Faḍhl ibn Nahāmah of Shīrāz. The other authorities in their successive order are, Abū Sa'īd Khalaf ibnu-l-Faḍhl; Abu-l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān; 'Amr ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Kathīr; 'Āmir ibn Ibrāhīm al-Iṣbahānī; Khaṭṭāb ibn Ja'far; the father of this Khaṭṭāb; Sa'īd ibn Jubair (D. 95 A. H., Nawawī, 278); Ibn 'Abbās.

[4] Qur'ān CVI, 2. This refers to the two caravans of purveyors which set out yearly from Makkah, the one in the winter for al-Yaman, and the other in summer for Syria. *See* Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc., p. 3.

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he gives his explanation of the words 'and He made them safe against fear,'[1] that it was the fear of leprosy.[2] But there are many white lepers in it and also many negroes. The natives of the country are dark coloured and generally have spare, lean figures.
96 Their clothes are chiefly made of cotton and they wear shoes. They do not make use of cloaks to ward off rain. No snow or frost ever falls; nor have they any fruits in winter, nor desiccated meats except such as has been dried of the victims slaughtered at Minā.

Religious sects. In Makkah, Tihāmah, Ṣan'ā' and Qurḥ, they are Sunnah. The rural populations round Ṣan'ā' and the adjacent parts are fanatical heretics,[3] so also are the country people of 'Umān. The rest of the Ḥijāz follows the doctrines of the *Ahlu-r-rāy* (reasoners).[4] In 'Umān, Hajar and Ṣa'dah, they are Shī'ah. The Shī'ah of 'Umān, Ṣa'dah and the Sarawāt hill range and the shores of the Ḥaramain are Mu'tazilah, especially those of 'Umān. In Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah, the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah take the lead. They have the mosques in their hands. At al-Ma'āfir the tenets of Ibnu-l-Mundhir[5] prevail, and in the district of Najdu-l-Yaman those of Sufyān.[6] The *aḏhān* is repeated[7] in Tihāmah and Makkah, which is in accordance with the opinion of Mālik as will appear on reflection. In the *takbīr* at Zabīd on the days of the two festivals the precept of Ibn Mas'ūd is followed.[8] This was first done by al-Qāḍhī Abū 'Abdillāh aṣ-Ṣa'wānī during my stay in that city. In Hajar the tenets of the Qarāmiṭah are

[1] Qur'ān CVI, 4. *See* Sale's Koran, 501 note z.

[2] *Judhām*, or true leprosy. The disease called *baraṣ* is white leprosy or leucoderma in its severe form.

[3] The *Shurāt* are a sect of the Khawārij (*Vide* Lane). *Ghāliyah* or *ghulāt* (pl. of *ghālin*) is a title applied to certain sects of heretics for their extravagant zeal and fanatical partisanship.

[4] See *ante*, page 59 note 1.

[5] *Ante*, page 53 note 4.

[6] Sufyān ath-Thaurī, *ante* p. 53 note 6.

[7] *At-Tarji'fi-l-aḏhān* is "the repeating the two professions of the faith in a raised voice after uttering them in a low voice" (Lane), so that each profession is recited four times. This is done by the followers of Mālik, *see* 'Précis de Jurisprudence Musulmane suivant le rite Malékite, par Sidi Khalil,' page 18.

[8] The prayers of the two Festivals consist of two prostrations. The first prostration begins by the *Takbīratu-l-Iftitāḥ*; then follows the *Fātiḥah*, *viz.*, the first chapter of the Qur'ān; after this the Imām repeats the Takbīr:—"God is great!" *three times*; then portions of the Qur'ān are recited; this

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in vogue. There are some Dā'ūdiyyah in 'Umān, where they have a seminary.

The language of the people of this country is Arabic, except in Ṣuḥār where they speak and call out to each other in Persian. The greater part of the inhabitants of 'Adan and Juddah are Persians, but the language is Arabic. In the vicinity of al-Ḥimyarī there is a tribe of Arabs who speak an unintelligible dialect. The natives of 'Adan say *rijlainah* for *rijlaihi* (his two feet) and *yadainah* for *yadaihi* (his two hands), and so forth. They also give the letter *jīm* the sound of *kāf*, for example they pronounce the word *rajab* [the month Rajab] as though it were *rakab* and the word *rajul* (a man) as *rakul*. It is related that the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, on being offered dung for certain purposes of purification he threw it away saying 'It is *riks*.' This has taxed the ingenuity of doctors of law. What they have said in explanation of it is quite admissible, but it is also possible that he made use of this dialect.[1] All the different dialects spoken by 97
the Arabs are to be found in the deserts of this peninsula, but the purest is the dialect of Ḥudhail, next the dialect of the two Najds and then the dialect spoken through the rest of al-Ḥijāz. Al-Aḥqāf is an exception, for the dialect spoken here is abominable.

Readings. In Makkah they read according to the system of Ibn Kathīr. In al-Yaman, the system of 'Āṣim. Throughout the rest of the province, they use the reading of Abū 'Amr. I have heard a distinguished Reader in Makkah say 'We have not seen or heard that any Imām ever read from behind this *maqām* in any other than the system of Ibn Kathīr, except at the present day.'

The commerce of this province is important, for here are the two chief ports of the world,[2] as well as the fair of Minā, and here is the sea which stretches as far as China. There also are Juddah and

is followed by the *Takbīratu-r-Rukū'*, which brings the first prostration to a close. The second prostration begins by recitations from the Qur'ān, followed by another three *Takbīrs* and then the whole prayer is closed by the *Takbīratu-r-Rukū'*. Of these nine *Takbīrs* three are original, *viz.*, the *Takbīratu-l-Iftitāḥ* and the two *Takbīrs* of the *Rukū'*. The other six are additions of the prayers of the two festivals. This number of *Takbīrs* is according to the opinion of Ibn Mas'ūd. Ibn 'Abbās repeats the Takbīr *six times* instead of three in each prostration. Cf. *Al-Fatāwa-l-'Ālamgīriyyah*, Vol. I. page 211.

1 *I.e.*, the word is *rijs*, which means '*an unclean, a dirty, or a filthy, thing*.'

2 'Adan and Ṣuḥār, the capital of 'Umān.

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al-Jār the two granaries of Egypt, and Wādi-l-Qurā the mart of both Syria and al-'Irāq, and al-Yaman the country of kerchiefs, cornelian, leather and slaves. To 'Umān the following articles are exported: apothecaries' drugs, all kinds of perfumery, musk even included, saffron, *baqqam*[1], teak-wood, the wood of the *sāsam* tree,[2] ivory, pearls, brocade, onyx, rubies, ebony, cocoa-nut, sugar, sandarach, aloes, iron, lead, canes, earthen-ware, sandal-wood, glass, pepper and other articles. 'Adan receives in addition, ambergris, (fine linen cloths called) *shurūb*, leather bucklers, Abyssinian slaves, eunuchs, tiger skins and other articles, which, were we to mention them in detail would unduly prolong the book. Chinese wares are proverbially famous; witness the common saying here "They come to thee as merchant princes." When I had embarked on the sea of al-Yaman, I happened to meet in the boat Abū 'Alī al-Ḥāfiḍ al-Marwazī. When we had become well-acquainted with one another, he said to me 'Verily thou hast exercised my mind.' I said, 'In what way?' He replied 'I see thou art a man leading a good life, thou lovest virtue and the virtuous, and possessest a desire for the acquisition of knowledge. Thou art now bound to a country which has allured many people and turned them from the path of piety and content, and I fear lest when thou shalt have entered 'Adan and shalt hear of this man going away with a thousand *dirhams* and returning with a thousand
98 *dīnārs*, and of that man coming with a hundred and going back with five hundred, and of another going out with frankincense and returning with the same quantity of camphor, then thy heart will incline to jealous rivalry.' I said 'God preserve me from this danger.' When I had entered it, however, and heard even more than what he had told me, I was allured even as others had been, and decided to journey to the countries of the Zanj. I brought whatever it was of necessity for me to buy and had it taken to some ship agents; but it so happened that a person with whom I had entered into partnership just then died. This cooled down the ardour of my heart and my spirits sank at the remembrance of death and all that follows it. It is well to know, may God guide thee aright, that with every gain here spoken of there is a danger, and indeed gains are ever attended with dangers;

[1] *Cæsalpinia Sappan.* N. O. Leguminosæ. The wood yields a valuable red dye. *See* Watt's Dictionary of Economic Products, Vol. II.

[2] *Dalbergia Sissoo.* N. O. Leguminosæ called in India *Sissoo* or *Shisham.*

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therefore, it behoves not the wise man to be allured thereby, and be he assured that God gives his servant for two prostrations of prayer provided they be sincerely offered to Him more than the world and all it contains. And what profits affluence which brings death in its train or the accumulation of wealth which must perforce be left behind?

Of the SPECIALITIES of the different parts of this province are the following: the leather of Zabīd and its unrivalled indigo which is of the colour of lapis lazuli, the *shurūb* (fine linen cloths) of 'Adan which are held to be superior to the *qaṣab* (or fine linen cloths of Egypt), the fibres of al-Mahjarah called there by the name of *līf*, the *burūd* (striped cloths) of Suḥūlā and al-Juraib, the leather carpets and water-vessels of Ṣa'dah, the striped stuffs of Ṣan'ā' known as *Sa'īdī* and its cornelian, the baskets of 'Aththar, the bowls of Ḥaly, the whetstones and henna of Yanbu', the *ben* of Yathrib and its *ṣaiḥānī* dates, the *burdī* dates and bdellium of al-Marwah, the frankincense and fish of Mahrah, the *wars*[1] of Adan, the dried peaches[2] of Qurḥ, the senna of Makkah, the aloes of Usqūṭara (Socotra) and the *maṣīn* dates of 'Umān.

The MEASURES of this province are: the *ṣā'*, the *mudd* and the *makkūk*. The *mudd* is one-fourth of the *ṣā'* and the *ṣā'* one-third of the *makkūk*. This is as it obtains in al-Ḥijāz. The *ṣā'* is of different capacities. That in general use weighs $5\frac{1}{3}$ *raṭls*.[3] I once heard al-Faqīh Abū 'Abdi-llāh at Damascus say that when Abū Yūsuf[4] had visited al-Madīnah during his pilgrimage he came over

[1] ورس *Flemingia congesta*. Watts *op. cit.*, Vol. III.

[2] The text has مغلّق M. De Goeje writes in his Glossary 'مغلق est fort collective *opus fabri claustrarii*.' But to take مغلق in a collective sense is unsupported by authority. The word should apparently be مُغَلَّق in the sense of dried peaches.

[3] The "*raṭl*" (or pound), being according to the standard of Baghdād 128 dirhams, is 1 lb. 16 dwt., Troy; or nearly 14 oz. $\frac{3}{4}$ dr., Avoirdupois.

[4] One of the two greatest disciples of Abū Ḥanīfah, the other being, Muḥammad. He was born at Baghdād, A. H. 113 and died A. H. 182. On several questions both of these disciples held independent opinions. All schools agree as to the inadmissibility of reciting the *adhān* before the proper time of prayer in all but the morning-prayer. With regard to this prayer also Abū Ḥanīfah holds it to be inadmissible, but Shāfi'ites and others say it is allowable. In this matter Muḥammad holds the same opinion as his chief in opposition to Abū Yūsuf. As for the *Ṣā'* they all agree that it is 4 *mudds* but differ as to the capacity of the *mudd*. Ash-Shāfi'ī

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to their opinions in two matters, the first being the admissibility of repeating the *adhān* before day-break, and the second the capacity of the *ṣā'*. However, the *ṣā'* which 'Umar had measured in the presence of the Companions, and which he made use of in expiating his vows,[1] had a capacity of eight *raṭls*; but Sa'īd ibnu-l-'Āṣī[2]
99 restored it to $5\frac{1}{3}$, as the following words of the versifier show:

Then Sa'īd came to famish us. He reduced the *ṣā'* instead of enlarging it.

On board ship they keep two *ṣā's*; with one they serve out the rations of the crew, and the other, which is the larger one, they make use of for purposes of trade.

Their WEIGHTS. In Makkah, the standard weight is the *mann*[3] which is well-known all over the countries of Islām; they however call it a *raṭl*. The *raṭl* of Yathrib as far as Qurḥ is of 200 *dirhams*. The *raṭl* of al-Yaman is the same as that of Baghdād. In 'Umān, the *mann* is the standard weight but in other parts of the province, the Baghdādī *raṭl* is used. Besides these weights they have the *buhār*, which is 300 *raṭls*. Their COINS vary; in Makkah they have the *muṭawwaqah* which, like the *'Aththariyyah*, are two-thirds of a *mithqāl*[4] a-piece. Like the *dirhams* of al-Yaman, they are

and the doctors of al-Ḥijāz take it to be $1\frac{1}{3}$ *'Irāqī raṭls* so that the *Ṣā'* according to them is a measure of $5\frac{1}{3}$ raṭls. Abū Ḥanīfah and the doctors of al-'Irāq, on the other hand, take the *mudd* to be 2 *raṭls* so that the *ṣā'* is according to them 8 *raṭls*.

[1] A vow may be expiated by the emancipation of a slave or by feeding or clothing ten poor persons. It is with relation to the feeding that the *ṣā'* is mentioned in this connection. *See* Hamilton's *Hedāya*, I. 500 *et seq.*

[2] Sa'īd was appointed governor of al-Kūfah by 'Uthmān on the deposition of al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah in A. H. 30 (A. D. 651). He remained governor till the year 34 when he was expelled from the city by a party of malcontents. For مجوع in the text we should read مجوعا. In *Kitābu-l-Aghānī*, IV, 187 we read من بعدة *and after time* in the place of مجوع. Al-Walīd was popular for his hospitality and liberal hand, but Sa'īd was a different man in these respects.

[3] The *mann* or *manā* is the same word as the Greek μνᾶ. It is of Semitic origin, belonging more especially to the Chaldee dialect, in which it signifies *number* or *measure* in its widest sense (Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Antiquities*, in art. Pondera). The *mann* as a specific weight is equal to two pounds of the standard of Baghdād or about 256 *dirhams*.

[4] The *mithqāl* is of the value of $1\frac{1}{3}$ *dirhams* in weight. It is of gold, while the *dirham* is of silver. The difference in their weight is said to be due to the difference in the specific weight of the two metals, one grain of gold being equal in weight to $1\frac{1}{3}$ grains of silver. According to this the ratio between the two metals is 7 to 10, whereas in reality it is about 10 to 19.

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counted when payments are made. They are somewhat higher than the *'Aṯḥṯhariyyah* in value, so that there is sometimes a difference between the two of just under a *dirham*. The *dīnār* of 'Adan is of the value of 7 *dirhams*; it is two-thirds of the *baghawī*. They are weighed, not counted. The *dīnār* of 'Umān is of 30 *dirhams*, but it is weighed The *dirhams* current in the province are called in Makkah *al-Muḥammadiyyah*. The natives of Makkah have also the *muzabbaq*, 24 of which make one *muṭawwaq* or a double *aḵḥtamī*. They cease to be current from the sixth day of Dhu-l-Ḥijjah to the end of the season (of pilgrimage). The people of al-Yaman have coins called *al-'Alawiyyah*, the value of which varies at different places, while in some parts they are not current at all. Four of these make one *dirham*, the piece being about the weight of a *dānaq*[1]. They have also pieces called *qurūḍh*, which sometimes appreciate in value so that three would be equal to one *dānaq*; at other times four would go to make one *dānaq*. The *ṭasūh*[2] is current in 'Umān.

It is the custom in this province to wear small tunics and drawers without shirts, with the exception of a small minority. In Mukhā they ridicule those who wear drawers, their dress consisting of a single garment (Izār)[3] which they wrap round their bodies. In Ramaḍhān they recite the whole of the Qur'ān in prayer; after the recitation they repeat the supplication and then perform the prostrations. I once acted as leader in the *tarāwīḥ* prayers at 'Adan and said the supplication after the *salām*, which greatly surprised them. Afterwards I was invited by Ibn Ḥāzim and Ibn Jābir to go to their mosques and do the same. They generally light their lamps with *ṣaifah*, that is, oil of fish, which they import from Mahrah. Their lime is black like black pitch. In al-Yaman they paste paper and line books with starch. The prince of 'Adan once sent me a copy of the Qur'ān to bind. I enquired for some glue at the druggists' shops, but they did not know what it was and referred me to the Muḥtasib (overseer of public markets) as a person who might possibly know of it. When I asked him he enquired of me, 'From what country art thou?' I said, 'From Palestine.' Then he said, 'Thou art from the land of plenty; if these people had glue they would eat it, use starch.' They admire fine bind- 100

[1] The *dānaq* or *dāniq* is the sixth part of a *dirham*.

[2] The *ṭasūh* or *ṭassūj* is a weight of two grains of barley or the twenty-fourth part of a *dirham*.

[3] See Dozy *s.v.* ازار

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ing and give high prices for it. I was given sometimes as much as two *dīnārs* for binding one copy of the Qur'ān. At 'Adan they decorate the roofs of their houses two days before Ramaḍhān and beat drums on them and when Ramaḍhān arrives a number of men form themselves into a band and go at early dawn from house to house reciting poems till the night has passed. On the approach of the festival they levy a sum of money from the people. On the *Nairūz* they prepare canopies which they carry round in procession passing with drums before the houses of those keeping the feast and in this way they collect a large sum of money. In Makkah pavilions are erected on the night preceding the breaking of the Fast and the market between aṣ-Ṣafā and al-Marwah is decorated and drums are beaten till the morning. When the morning prayer is over, the slave-girls approach in their gala dresses and with fans in their hands make the rounds of the House. They appoint five Imāms to take the lead at the *tarāwīḥ*[1] prayers; after each *tarwīḥah* they circumambulate the Ka'bah seven times, while the Mu'adhdhins chant *Allāhu akbar* and *Lā ilāha ill-allāh;* after this thongs[2] are lashed in the air, as is usually done at the times of prayer, and then the second Imām comes forward. They say the night-prayers when one-third of the night has passed and finish with
101 one-third still remaining. Then the time of the *saḥūr* (or last meal) is announced from Abū Qubais. No prettier sight can be seen than the dresses of the natives of Makkah when going out for the pilgrimage, as they take as much pains in this as natives of 'Irāq.

The WATERS of this province vary in quality. The water of 'Adan, the canal of Makkah, and the water of Zabīd and Yathrib are wholesome. The water of Ghalāfiqah is deadly. The water of Qurḥ and Yanbu' is bad. All other waters are tolerable. During my pilgrimage in the year 356 I found the water of Zamzam detestable; on my second visit in the year 67 I found it pleasant. Most of the waters on the coasts are brackish but drinkable. Were anyone to ask, 'How canst thou know wholesome waters from unwholesome?' I would answer, by four things; the first is that any water which cools

[1] These are additional prayers of Ramaḍhān. They consist of twenty *Rak'ahs* and are repeated between the *'ashā'* prayers and the *Witr*.

[2] Al-farqā'iyyāt. Ibn Baṭūṭah describes the *farqa'ah* as follows: a stick to the end of which a slender and braided strip of leather is fastened and which when blown in the air gives a loud sound which is heard by those within as well as those without the sanctuary: this is done to announce to the people the arrival of the preacher. *See Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Vol. I., p. 376.

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quickly is wholesome. I have not seen any water quicker to cool than that of Taimā' and Arīḥā, and as they are the most wholesome of all the waters in the Empire, I drew this deduction, the truth of which I have frequently proved by experience. The second is that wholesome water is slow to be evacuated, while he who drinks unwholesome water passes it off rapidly. The third is that good water gives an appetite for food and promotes digestion. The fourth is this: whenever thou desirest to test the water of any place go to the cloth-merchants and druggists and look into their faces, if thou see any water in them be sure that the water of that place is wholesome in proportion to the brightness of their faces; but if thou see that their faces are like those of the dead, and that their heads hang down hasten to depart from that place. Of poisonous plants there is at Makkah a species of egg-plant which causes illness, and at al-Madīnah a kind of leek from the effect of which the guinea-worm[1] makes its appearance.

MINES. Pearls are found in this province on the coasts of Hajar. They are obtained by diving into the sea opposite Uwāl and the island of Khārak. It is here that the Orphan's Pearl[2] was found. The divers who are hired for the purpose plunge and bring out shells within which the pearls are found. The greatest evil they are exposed to consists in a large fish which darts on their eyes. The profit to those employed in this trade is obvious. Whoever is in search of cornelian purchases a piece of ground at a place near Ṣan'ā', where he digs for it. Sometimes he obtains as large a piece as a rock or smaller, and sometimes he gets nothing. Between Yanbu' and al-Marwah there are mines of gold. Ambergris is thrown upon the sea-shore from 'Adan to Mukhā and 102.
on the Zaila' side of the sea also. Whoever finds any quantity of it whether small or large carries it to the agent of the Governor who takes it and gives him in return a piece of cloth and a *dīnār*. It only comes up when a southerly wind[3] is blowing. I have not

[1] عرق المديني. *Filaria Medinensis.*

[2] This is what al-Muqaddasī calls this pearl, as though implying that the possession of it makes an orphan's fortune. The more usual form however is الدرّة اليتيمة "*the orphan pearl,*" so called because it was unique and without an equal in the whole world. This pearl was in the possession of Muslim ibn 'Abdu-llah al-'Irūqī who sold it to ar-Rashīd for 90,000 *dīnārs*. See Mehren's *Nukhbatu-d-Dahr* of Shamsu-d-Dīn ad-Dimishqī, p. 86.

[3] The reading of the text is ريح الأيت; but in the Glossary under ايوب

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been able to discover what substance ambergris is. Dragon's blood [1] is found opposite al-Juḥfah.

Sectarian disturbances arise at Makkah between the tailors, who are *Shī'ah*, and the butchers, who are *Sunnah*. Similar quarrels and affrays arise at 'Adan between the *Jamājimiyyin*[2] and the sailors, as also between the *Sunnah* and the *Shī'ah* at Yanbu'. Between the Bajah, the Abyssinians and the Nubians at Zabīd strange relations exist; so also between the butchers and the Bedouins at al-Yamāmah, who it is said, have even divided the mosque between themselves and say to the stranger 'Join one or other of us as thou willest, or else depart.'

Places of pious visitation. At Makkah, *Maulidu-n-Nabī*,[3] or the Prophet's birth-place, in the quarter of the Maḥāmiliyyīn;[4] the House of the Forty[5] in the quarter of the cloth-merchants; the

this is pronounced to be wrong, and the correct reading is there given as ريح الايب. Neither word however is satisfactory, while to take ريح الايب as meaning '*ventus vespertinus*' does not rest on good authority. We have taken the word to be الازيب which is nearer in form to the reading in MS. B, *viz.*, الاءيب. الازيب is according to Lane a name for the south wind. He says, 'The people of El-Yemen, and those who voyage upon the sea between Juddah and 'Adan, call the جنوب by the name of الازيب, and know not any other name for it; and that is because it is *boisterous, and stirs up the sea, turning it upside-down.*' Now both al-Mas'ūdī and ad-Dimishqī (Mehren, p. 134), say that ambergris is found during the season in which the sea is in agitation, while the description the latter gives of it clearly shows the appropriateness of the word, for he speaks of it as hardened on rocks at the bottom of the sea and that it is broken up by the force of the winds into pieces which float to the surface and are driven by the waves to the shore.

[1] دم الأخوين *Damu-l-akhawain*, also called Qāṭir. The exudation of Pterocarpus Draco N.O. Leguminosæ.

[2] There is nothing to shew who these people were, Yāqūt III. p. 622 speaking of 'Adan says that its inhabitants are the Muribbūn and the Jamājimiyyūn.

[3] See al-Azraqī, page 422 and Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III. 858.

[4] Makers of *maḥāmil*, which are 'the kind of vehicles called *hawādij*.' A *maḥmil* is 'a pair of dorsers, or panniers, or oblong chests, upon a camel, in which are borne two equal loads, and which, with a tent over them, compose a *haudaj*' Lane.

[5] This is also called Dāru-l-Arqam and Dāru-l-Khaizurān, which was situated near aṣ-Ṣafā and where the Prophet prayed secretly with about forty of his companions till the conversion of 'Umar enabled him to dispense with concealment. Burton, III. 359. Ibn Hishām, I. 225. Al-Azraqī, 424.

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House of Khadījah,[1] at the back of the druggists' quarter. The Cave of Thaur,[2] at the distance of one *farsakh* below Makkah. Ḥirā',[3] on the side of Minā. There is another cave at the back of Abū Qubais.[4] The hill of Qu'aiqi'ān, opposite Abū Qubais,[5] and in al-Ḥaram [the Sanctuary]. The tomb of Maimūnah, on the road to Juddah.[6] In the *Thaniyyah*[7] the tombs of al-Fuḍhail, Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah and Wuhaib ibnu-l-Ward. Between the two Masjids (of Makkah and al-Madīnah) there are several places connected with the history of the Prophet and that of 'Alī.[8]

[1] The house where the Prophet lived till his emigration to al-Madīnah. Azraqī, 423. Burton, III. 353. It is in the Zuqāqu-l-Ḥajar, a little to the north-east of the Ka'bah.

[2] This is the cave in Mount Thaur, to the south or the south-east of Makkah where Muḥammad and Abū Bakr, the companion of his flight, lay hid for three days on leaving Makkah for al-Madīnah. It is alluded to in *Qur'ān* IX. 40.

[3] Mount Ḥirā, at two or three miles north of Makkah, where Muḥammad was in the habit of retiring for meditation and where he received his first revelation. Hence the hill is now called Jabal Nūr, or Mountain of Light. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, II. 55 and note.

[4] Abū Qubais bounds Makkah on the east. Here is a cave where according to many Moslems, Adam, with his wife and his son Seth, lie buried. Burton's *Pilgrimage*, III, 198 note.‡

[5] Qu'aiqi'ān is in the Ma'lāt or higher parts of Makkah. This and the hill of Abū Qubais are the *Akhshabān* of Makkah. Qu'aiqi'ān is also called al-Aḥmar, or the latter name is the hill and Qu'aiqi'ān the name of the declivities at the foot of it which were inhabited by the Jurham and which were so called from their clashing arms.

[6] Maimūnah bintu-l-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyyah was married to the Prophet in the sixth or seventh year of the Hijrah. She died at Sarif, which is a water situated ten miles from Makkah and was buried on a hill in the vicinity. Her death is assigned to the year 51. *Nawawī*, p. 854. Azraqī, p. 436. The burial-place of Maimūnah is also described to be on the road between Makkah and al-Madīnah. *See* the extracts from *Kitābu-l-Kharāj* at the end of the *Kitābu-l-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik* of Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 187.

[7] This is *Thaniyyatu-l-Maqbarah* or *Thaniyyat-Kadā'* (*see* above p. 117, note 3). The lives of al-Fuḍhail and Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah will be found in Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary, II., 478 and I. 578, and also in *Nawawī*, pp. 504 and 289 respectively. Al-Wuhaib ibnu-l-Ward was a traditionist and a holy man. He died in 153 A.H. *Nawawī*, p. 620.

[8] Of the shrines connected with the name of 'Alī may be mentioned his birth-place near the hill of Abū Qubais in a lane at the back of it called Shi'b 'Alī or the valley of 'Alī, where there is a mosque which is visited by the people. See an-Nahrawālī's History of Makkah, volume third of *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, page 445.

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Masjidu-sh-Shajarah[1] [the Mosque of the Tree], at Dhu-l-Ḥulaifah. There is another tree at Qubā, where is also the *Ḥajar*[2] of Fāṭimah. The tomb of Hūd,[3] *peace be on him*, at al-Aḥqāf on the sea coast. The place from which flames issue at 'Adan is a
103. mountain in the sea. At the back of the town is the Masjid Abān.[4] The *mikhlāf* of Mu'ādh[5] is at the back of Mukhā. Again, the mosque of the Deserted Well, and the Lofty Palace,[6] in the *mikhlāf* of al-Baun. In the *mikhlāf* of Marmal, which is one of the dependencies of Ṣan'ā', came forth the fire which burned the garden of the Swearers.[7] The Well of 'Uthmān, on the road to Syria. Near al-'Arj[8] there is a hill through which it is said Gabriel hewed for the Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon*

[1] This "Mosque of the Tree" is situated at Dhu-l-Ḥulaifah six miles from al-Madīnah. It was so called from a fruit tree which grew near it and under which the Prophet twice sat. See Burton's *Pilgrimage*, II, 25*n*. There is another mosque of the same name near Makkah where there stood a tree which the Prophet once called to him as he sat in the neighbouring mosque of the Genii. The tree went up to him, and having answered some questions which he propounded returned to its former place. Azraqī, p. 424.

It may here be mentioned that at page 41 of the text (p. 70 of this translation) there occur the words و المساجد سبعة. This was translated 'and the *masjids* are seven.' The word *masājid* however is not here the plural of *masjid* meaning 'a mosque,' but of *masjad* which means 'that *part* of the body which touches the ground in the *sujūd* (or prostration in prayer).' The seven *masājid* are therefore: the forehead, the hands, the knees, and the feet.

[2] This is probably the hand mill to which we find a reference in Burton, *Pilgrimage*, II. 215, "a dark dwarf archway under which the lady Fatimah used to sit grinding grain in a hand mill."

[3] See above page 109, note 4.

[4] Called after Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, one of the companions of the Prophet who was Governor of al-Baḥrain in the lifetime of Muḥammad and of al-Yaman under his successor. His death is variously assigned to 13 and 27 of the Hijrah. *Iṣābah*, I. 17.

[5] See above page 108, note 3.

[6] See above page 108, note 6. The Well and the Palace are both located at a town called Raidah in this *mikhlāf*. This town is described as being rich in springs and vineyards and its situation is given at one day's journey from the capital of al-Yaman.

[7] Qur'ān lxviii. 20. See Wherry's *Commentary*, Vol. IV, p. 170 and notes.

[8] A station on the road which the Prophet traversed in his flight from Makkah to al-Madīnah, at 78 miles from the latter place. For the route followed by Muḥammad on this occasion, see Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 129, French translation, p. 99.

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him, at the time of his emigration, a pathway to al-Madīnah. Between al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā' there fell once a fire which blazed like burning coals. The houses of those who enjoyed their lives[1] at al-Ḥijr, are of wonderful construction. Their doors are arched and decorated with carved arabesques. Aṭ-Ṭāghiyah,[2] a town in ruins. At the back of Khaim-Umm-Ma'bad[3] in the Sarawāt hills there are wonderful castles. Kamarān, an island in the sea, has in it a town, which is called al-'Aql, where there is fresh water. In this town are the state prisons of the Kings of al-Yaman.

One of the peculiarities of the natives of Makkah is their pride. The people of al-Yaman have no refinement. The men of 'Umān give short weight and defraud[4] and do wrong. Adultery at 'Adan is overtly practised. The people of al-Aḥqāf are bigoted heretics. Al-Ḥijāz is a poor, barren country. TRIBES. Journeying from as-Sarawāt in the direction of Syria, one would first find oneself in the territory of al-Agharr ibn Haitham; thence one passes to the habitations of Ya'lā ibn Abī Ya'lā; thence to Surdud;[5] thence to the habitations of 'Anz-Wā'il[6] in the territories of Banī Ghaziyyah;[7] after this one finds oneself in the territories of Jurash, al-'Atl and Julājil; thence the traveller goes to the territories of **104.**

[1] See above page 108, note 4 and 109, note 7.

[2] This is the same word which occurs in Qur'ān lxix. 5 and which there means the cry of punishment by which Thamūd were destroyed. None of the commentators has given its name to the place where the tribe had their quarters, but this is apparently what our author has done.

[3] There are two places, called by the name of "the Tent of Umm Ma'bad." One of them is the tent of the Arab lady where the Prophet and his companion rested on the morrow of their flight. The other, the tent of Umm Ma'bad bintu-l-Ḥārith al-'Ansī, is situated near al-Mahjam in al-Yaman. The latter is the place referred to in the text.

[4] Both the words used here to signify 'giving short measure or weight' occur in the 83rd chapter of the Qur'ān, "Woe be unto those who give short measure or weight (للمطففين); who, when they receive by measure from other men, take the full; but when they measure unto them, or weigh unto them, defraud (يخسرون)!"

[5] A district of Zabīd with al-Mahjam for its capital. Yāqūt, III. 73.

[6] 'Anz ibn Wā'il, a brother of Bakr and Taghlib, sons of Wā'il, the progenitors of the two great tribes called after them. They were descended from Rabī'ah ibn Nizār. See *Kitābu-l-Ishtiqāq*, 202 and also Kay's *History of Yaman*, p. 166 and note 114.

[7] Ghaziyyah, a sub-division of the great tribe of Hawāzin, to which the famous Duraid ibnu-ṣ-Ṣimmah belonged. *Kitābu-l-Ishtiqāq*, p. 177.

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ash-Shuqrah where Khath'am have their dwellings; he next arrives in the territory of al-Ḥārith, where the chief town is called Dhanūb and the coast opposite to it ash-Sharā; thence into the territory of Shākir and 'Āmir; thence into Bajīlah; thence into Fahm; thence into the Banī 'Āṣim; thence into 'Adwān; thence to the Banī Salūl; thence into Muṭār, where there is a quarry of stone for making cooking pots; thence into the territory of Birmah, which contains al-Abraqah and Ḥiṣnu-l-Muhayyā (?) and then you are at al-Falaj.

The provinces of this country are under separate governments. Al-Ḥijāz however, has ever belonged to the sovereigns of Egypt as it depends on this country for supplies. Al-Yaman belongs to the Āl-Ziyād dynasty whose origin is of Hamdān.[1] Ibn Ṭarf[2] has 'Aththar and over Ṣan'ā'[3] an independent Governor rules, who is however subsidized by Ibn Ziyād in order to read the *Khuṭbah* in his name. Sometimes 'Adan would be wrested from their hands.[4] The Āl [or Family of] Qaḥṭān are in the mountains, they

In Kay's *History of Yaman*, 213–8, there is a short account of the tribes of Arabia which may be consulted here with advantage.

1 The Ziyādites claim to be descended from Ziyād, the reputed son of Abū Sufyān who was of course of the Quraish. Hamdān is a great and powerful Ḥimyarite tribe of al-Yaman from whom many of the ruling chiefs of that country were descended, but no historian connects the name of the Ziyādites with this tribe. It is clear however that the founder of the dynasty at the time of his appointment to the government of al-Yaman by al-Ma'mūn, lived in that country and was already one of the leading men in it.

For a history of this dynasty which lasted close upon two centuries, see Kay's *History of Yaman*.

2 Sulaimān ibn Ṭarf was one of the princes of Tihāmah. His kingdom comprised the provinces of 'Aththar, Ḥaly and ash-Sharjah and extended over a distance of seven days' journey by two, from the port of ash-Sharjah to that of Ḥaly. 'Aththar, the seat of his Government, was situated on the borders of the sea. Ibn Ṭarf owed allegiance to Abu-l-Jaish Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm the Ziyādite, whose death happened in A. H. 371.

3 The prince referred to was of the family of the Banū Ya'fur who were said to be descended from the *Tubba's* or Ḥimyarite kings of al-Yaman. In A. H. 352 the Governorship of Ṣan'ā' was offered to the Amīr 'Abdu-llah ibn Qaḥṭān, who was grand-nephew of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, the last of the great princes of the family. 'Abdu-llah died in 387. See Note 8 of Kay's *History of Yaman*.

4 On the breaking up of the Ziyādite kingdom 'Adan passed into the hands of the Banū Ma'n who had held a semi-independent rule over it since the days of al-Ma'mūn. See Kay's *History of Yaman*, p. 158 and note 19.

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are the oldest dynasty in al-Yaman. The 'Alawiyyah of Ṣa'dah[1] read the *Khuṭbah* in the name of the Āl Ziyād dynasty; they are the most justice-loving people. 'Umān belongs to ad-Dailam[2] and Hajar to the Qarāmiṭah. Al-Aḥqāf is ruled by a native chieftain.

TAXES AND TOLLS. At Juddah ½ dīnār is exacted on every load of wheat and a *Kail* (gallon) from each half of a camel-load; on a bundle of *Shaṭawī*[3] linen, 3 dīnārs and on a bundle of *Dabīqī*,[4] 2 dīnārs and on every bale of wool 2 dīnārs. At 'Aththar, on every load one dīnār, and on every basket of saffron one dīnār, as also on every slave. This is levied from persons leaving the town; the same dues are charged at as-Sirrain on everyone passing through, as well as at Kamarān. At 'Adan goods are appraised in *Zakāwī* dīnārs and one-tenth of the value is exacted in *'Aththarī* dīnārs.[5] It is estimated that the royal treasury receives about one-third of the goods of merchants. The search here is very strict. The custom dues paid at the coast towns are light, Ghalāfiqah only excepted. The land taxes are as follow:—on the caravans[6] of Juddah half a 105.

[1] The ancestor of this branch of the 'Alawiyyah was Abū-Muḥammad al-Qāsim, the Rassite, so called from having had a property at ar-Rass near al-Madīnah, where he resided and where he died in A.H. 246. The dynasty is called after him, but the first to make himself master of Ṣa'dah was his grandson Yaḥyā ibnu-l-Ḥusain who was acknowledged as Imām in 288 under the title of *al-Hādī ila-l-Ḥaqq*. Al-Hādī died at Ṣa'dah in 298. For a detailed account of this dynasty the reader is referred to Kay's *History of al-Yaman*, page 184 and note 127.

[2] 'Umān came under the power of the Dailamites in A.H. 355 when Mu'izzu-d-Daulah Buwaih who was already master of the seat of Caliphate, sent a large force under one of his Generals to conquer the country, which had fallen in the hands of the Qarāmiṭah. An account of this expedition is given in the *Kāmil* of Ibnu-l-Athīr, Vol. VIII, p. 419.

[3] This is a kind of cloth of fine texture, so called from Shaṭā, a town of Egypt, where it was manufactured.

[4] Called from the town of Dabīq in Egypt where it was manufactured.

[5] From this statement it is safe to conclude that the 'Aththarī *dīnār* was the higher in value. The value of the 'Aththariyyah *dīnārs* was about nine shillings of our own money.

[6] The caravans passing between Makkah and Juddah are called *qulūd* from the circumstance of the journey occupying four days, during which the camels drink once only. The original meaning of *qild*, the singular of *qulūd*, is 'the day on which a quartan fever comes.' *See* Lane, *sub. voce.*

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dīnār at both al-Qarīn and Baṭn Marr. At the gate of Zabīd, one dīnār on every load of musk, and half a dīnār on every bale of linen. At other toll-houses payments are made in *'Alawī* dirhams. The ruler of Ṣa'dah does not exact taxes from anyone, but he takes one-fortieth[1] from merchants.

The Peninsula is a tithe-land.[2] At 'Umān, on every palm-tree one *dirham* is levied. I have found it stated in the work of Ibn Khurdādhbah that the tribute of al-Yaman is 600,000 *dīnārs*. I do not know what he means by this, nor have I seen this statement in the *Kitābu-l-Kharāj*,[3] on the contrary it is well-known that the Peninsula of the Arabs is subject to tithes. The province of al-Yaman was in former times divided into three administrations, one Governor for al-Janad and its districts, another for Ṣan'ā' and its districts, and a third for Ḥaḍhramaut and its districts. Qudāmah ibn Ja'far al-Kātib has stated that the revenue of the two sacred cities is 100,000 *dīnārs*, of al-Yaman 600,000 *dīnārs*, of al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrain 510,000, and of 'Umān 300,000 *dīnārs*. The natives of this country are men of contented disposition and lean of figure. They are satisfied with little food and with scanty raiment. God has favoured them with the best of fruits and the mistress of trees, namely, dates and the palm.[4] It is related in a tradition[5]
106. that the Prophet of God once said, "Honour your father's sister the palm-tree, for it was created of the mud of which Adam was created, and none of the trees are fecundated through the male excepting

[1] This being the fixed rate in *Zakāt*. *Cf.* Hamilton's *Hedaya*, I. 25.

[2] See above, page 107, note 4.

[3] The "Book of Tribute" of Abu-l-Faraj Qudāmah ibn Ja'far al-Kātib, extracts of which have been edited and translated by M. de Goeje in the sixth volume of his *Bibliotheca Geographorum*. Qudāmah wrote some years before al-Muqaddasī. The date of his death was A.H. 337. For the statement referred to, see also M. de Goeje's note on page 108 of his translation of Ibn Khurdādhbah.

[4] The claim of the palm for superiority is successfully contested by the vine in an interesting chapter in the Kitabu-l-Buldān, entitled *faḍhlu-l-ḥablah 'ala-n-nakhlah*, p. 118.

[5] The authorities are: Abū 'Abdi-llāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, at the city of Arrajān; al-Qāḍhī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Khallād; Mūsā ibnu-l-Ḥusain; Shaibān ibn Farrūkh (died A.H. 235; *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, I, 710); Masrūr ibn Sufyān at-Tamīmī; al-Auzā'ī (A.H. 88–157; *Nawawī*, p. 382); 'Urwah ibn Ruwaim (died 136 or 140; *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, I, 378); 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

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this tree; and do ye give your women fresh and ripe dates to eat at their parturition, and if there be no fresh dates, then give them dried dates of the season."

With regard to distances it is to be noted that the word 'and' is copulative, that the word 'then' expresses order of following and that the word 'or' is alternative; for example, when we say 'to such and such a place *and* such and such a place' it is implied that the two places are in the same locality, such as Khulaiṣ and Amaj, Mazīnān and Bahman-abādh; when we say 'then,' it is taken in conjunction with the word preceding it, as for example: to Baṭn Marr, *then* to 'Usfān; to Ghazzah, *then* to Rafaḥ; and when we say 'or' we go back to the word before the last, as when we say 'from ar-Ramlah to Īliyā *or* to 'Asqalān, from Shīrāz to Juwaim *or* to Ṣāhah. We have computed the *marḥalah* [stage] at 6 or 7 *farsakhs*; if it happens to be more than this, we place two dots over the *hā* (the last letter of the word *marḥalah*); if it exceeds ten, we place two dots below the *lām* (the penultimate letter of the word *marḥalah*); if the stage be less than six *farsakhs*, we place one dot above the *hā*.[1] You travel from Makkah to Baṭn Marr,[2] one stage, then to 'Usfān[3] one stage, then to Khulaiṣ[4] and Amaj[5] one stage, then to al-Khaim[6]

[1] The editor remarks in a footnote that in neither codex are these dots to be found.

[2] Baṭn Marr is also called Marru-ḍ-Ḍahrān, Marr being the name of the village and aḍ-Ḍahrān the valley in which it is situated. It is now called Wādī Fāṭimah. Baṭn Marr is described as a large and populous place, abounding in streams and rich in corn-fields and palms. It is 16 miles distant from Makkah.

[3] There is a distance of 33 miles between 'Usfān and Baṭn Marr. There are several wells at this place.

[4] Khulaiṣ is mentioned by the author of the *Qāmūs* as a fortress between 'Usfān and Qudaid and also by Abu-l-Fidā' who likewise places a distance of one stage between it and 'Usfān, the latter being to the south. *Géographie*, I. 109.

[5] The ordinary road goes from 'Usfān straight to Qudaid, which here figures as Khaim Umm Ma'bad. In his flight however the Prophet went from 'Usfān to Amaj and thence to Qudaid. See Ibn Hishām, *Life of Muḥammad*, I, 332.

[6] This station is at a distance of 24 miles from 'Usfān. The name by which it is generally known is al-Qudaid. In the neighbourhood of al-Qudaid was encamped the Arab lady in whose tent the Prophet rested during his flight, hence the station is sometimes called Khaimat, or the Tent, of Umm Ma'bad (this being the name of the Arab lady).

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one stage, then to al-Juḥfah[1] one stage, then to al-Abwā'[2] one stage, then to Suqyā Banī Ghifār[3] one stage, then to al-'Arj[4] one stage, then to ar-Rauḥā'[5] one stage, then to Ruwaithah one stage, then to Yathrib one stage.[6] You travel from Makkah to Yalamlam,[7] one stage; then to Qarn,[8] one stage; then to as-Sirrain,[9] one stage. You travel from Makkah to Bustān Banī 'Āmir,[10] one stage; then to Dhāt 'Irq,[11] one stage; then to al-Ghamrah,[12] one stage. You travel from Makkah to Qarīn, one stage; then to Juddah,[13] one stage.

107. From Baṭn Marr to Juddah it is one stage. You travel from

[1] From the last station the distance is 27 miles to al-Juḥfah. Al-Juḥfah is the *mīqāt* of the Syrians when not passing through al-Madīnah and the sea is about 8 miles distant from it.

[2] At 27 miles from al-Juḥfah. Al-Abwā' is midway between Makkah and al-Madīnah, being distant about 125 miles from each.

[3] At 29 miles from al-Abwā'. It has a running stream, a garden and palms.

[4] According to al-Hamdānī at 24 miles from the last station.

[5] Al-Hamdānī places Ruwaithah before ar-Rauḥā'. The order according to him stands thus: al-'Arj to Ruwaithah 24 miles; Ruwaithah to ar-Rauḥā' 13 miles; ar-Rauḥā' to Sayālah 24 miles; and Sayālah to al-Madīnah 23 miles. According to Ibn Khurdādhbah: from as-Suqyā to ar-Ruwaithah 36 miles, then to as-Sayālah 34 miles, then to Malal 19 miles, then to ash-Shajarah 12 miles. Ash-Shajarah is the *mīqāt* of al-Madīnah and is 6 miles distant from it.

[6] The whole distance between Makkah and al-Madīnah is according to al-Ya'qūbī 225 miles, but the distances in Ibn Khurdādhbah amount to 263 miles. The reader is referred to Sprenger's *Post-und Reiserouten des Orients*, of which use has been made in these notes.

[7] See Yāqūt, IV. 1025, and *Géographie d' Aboulfeda*, I. 125.

[8] Called also Qarnu-l-Manāzil. It is 51 miles distant from Makkah and 36 from aṭ-Ṭā'if which is due right of it. See Yāqūt, IV. 72.

[9] On the borders of the sea, at four or five days from Makkah, near Juddah. Yāqūt, III. 89. Distant about 19 parasangs from Ḥaly. *Géographie d' Aboulfeda*, I. 125.

[10] On the pilgrim road of al-'Irāq, at 24 miles from Makkah. Water is abundant.

[11] The *mīqāt* of the pilgrims of al-'Irāq, at 22 miles from Bustān Banī 'Āmir.

[12] At 26 miles from Dhāt 'Irq. Here are tanks and wells. Between Ghamrah and Dhāt 'Irq is Auṭās, where the battle of Ḥunain was fought.

[13] Al-Idrīsī: from Juddah to Makkah 40 miles. Sprenger remarks that Juddah was first colonized by Persian merchants in the caliphate of 'Uthmān. The port of Makkah or rather aṭ-Ṭā'if was before that *Shu'aibah*. *Cf.* Yāqūt. III. 301.

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al-Juḥfah to Badr, one stage; then to aṣ-Ṣafrā' and al-Ma'lāt,[1] one stage; then to ar-Rauḥā', one stage. You travel from Badr to Yanbu', two stages; then to Ra'su-l-'Ain, one stage; then to al-Ma'din (the mine),[2] one stage; then to al-Marwah, two stages. You travel from Badr to al-Jār, one stage; then to al-Juḥfah or Yanbu', two stages either way. You travel from Juddah to al-Jār or as-Sirrain, four stages. You travel from Yathrib to as-Suwaidiyyah or to Baṭnu-n-Nakhl,[3] two stages either way. From as-Suwaidiyyah to al-Marwah, the same number of stages; and likewise from Baṭnu-n-Nakhl to Ma'dinu-n-Naqirah.[4] If you wish to take the high road to Egypt, travel from al-Marwah to as-Suqyā;[5] then to Badā Ya'qūb,[6] three stages, then to al-'Aunīd,[7] one stage. If you go to Syria travel from as-Suqyā to Wādi-l-Qurā,[8] one stage; then to al-Ḥijr,[9] one stage; then to Taimā',[10] three stages. If you desire to travel to Makkah by the Kūfah road, take from Zubālah,[11] which is inhabited and has abundance of water, to ash-Shuqūq, 21 miles; then to al-Biṭān,[12] 29 miles; then to ath-Tha'labiyyah, 29 miles.

[1] Aṣ-Ṣafrā', Yāqūt, III. 399. *Ibn Hishām*, I. 434. Al-Ma'lāt, Yāqūt, IV. 577. Also mentioned by the author of the *Qāmūs*. Uthail (Ḥamāsah, I. 437) is situated between Badr and these two places.

[2] This is a different place from Ma'dinu-n-Naqirah. Their respective positions may be seen in Sprenger's *Karte* of Arabia in the Volume referred to.

[3] Or Baṭn Nakhl. It is at two stages from al-Madīnah, aṭ-Ṭaraf being the intermediate station. The distance is 22 miles from Baṭn Nakhl to aṭ-Ṭaraf and 35 from aṭ-Ṭaraf to al-Madīnah.

[4] At Ma'dinu-n-Naqirah, on the great pilgrim route of al-'Irāq, the road branches off to al-Madīnah. The first station is al-'Usailah 46 miles. From this to Baṭn Nakhl is 36 miles.

[5] This is Suqyā Yazīd.

[6] The Badei-regia of Ptolemy according to Sprenger.

[7] On the sea-coast. It was the port of Qurḥ.

[8] Another name for Qurḥ.

[9] The Ḥijr of Ṣāliḥ. The Petra of the Romans.

[10] The Themma of Ptolemy. At Taimā' was the famous castle of as-Samau'al ibn 'Ādiyā, which was known as al-Ablaqu-l-Fard. See Ibn Khurd. p. 128 and *Géog. d' Aboulf.*, I. 107.

[11] The stations above Zubālah are: al-Qādisiyyah, 15 miles; al-'Udhaib, 6; al-Mughīthah, 24; al-Qar'ā', 32; Wāqiṣah, 24; al-'Aqabah, 29; and al-Qā', 24.

[12] This place is also called Qabru-l-'Ibādī (Ibn Khurd., 126). For this appellation, see *Géog. d' Aboulf.*, I. 131 note 1. Yāqūt however gives another tradition in explanation of the name. See Vol. IV., p. 28.

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Ath-Thaʻlabiyyah marks the end of one-third of the way, an inhabited place, with a large number of tanks and several wells of brackish but drinkable water. Then to al-Khuzaimiyyah, 32
108. miles; then to Ajfur, 24 miles; then to Faid, 36 miles. The latter is a flourishing town with two forts and has abundance of water. Then to Tūz,[1] which is half way, 31 miles; then to Samīrā', 20 miles. It has many tanks, an abundant supply of water and cultivated fields; the water is brackish but drinkable. Then to Ḥājir, 33 miles; then to Maʻdinu-n-Naqrah,[2] 34 miles. It has a fort; the water-supply is poor and the place abominable. Then to al-Mughīthah,[3] 33 miles; then to ar-Rabadhah, 24 miles. The water is bitter and the place in ruins. Then to Maʻdin Banī Sulaim,[4] 24 miles; then to as-Salīlah, 26 miles; then to al-ʻUmaq, 21 miles. Al-ʻUmaq has huge wells, but the water is not abundant. Then to al-Ufaiʻiyah, 32 miles; then to al-Mislaḥ, 34 miles. The latter has a number of tanks and water is abundant. Then to Ghamrah, 18 miles. There is abundant water here. If you travel to it [*i.e.*, Makkah] from al-Baṣrah, go from
109. al-Baṣrah to al-Ḥufair,[5] 18 miles; then to ar-Ruḥail,[6] 28 miles;

[1] Al-Muqaddasī describes Tūz as being midway between al-Kūfah and Makkah. Other geographers say this of Faid, the station next before Tūz. The total of distances between the two termini being 751 miles, the middle would fall at 375½ miles from starting point, that is to say, at a place between Faid and Tūz which are 349 and 380 miles distant from al-Kūfah respectively.

[2] Called also Maʻdinu-l-Quraishī. An-Naqrah is also spelt an-Naqirah.

[3] Called also Mughīthatu-l-Māwān.

[4] Ibn Khurdādhbah and Qudāmah both agree with al-Muqaddasī in the order of these stations, namely, ar-Rabadhah, Maʻdin Banī Sulaim, as-Salīlah and al-ʻUmaq. From Yūqūt however (III, p. 128), it is evident that next after ar-Rabadhah comes as-Salīlah with 26 miles between them, so that the order stands as follows: ar-Rabadhah, as-Salīlah, Maʻdin Banī Sulaim and al-ʻUmaq. This is also the order in al-Yaʻqūbī with the exception that he places al-ʻUmaq before Maʻdin Banī Sulaim. That this is not the case appears from Yūqūt (III, p. 728). Sprenger in his *Karte* follows the order of al-Yaʻqūbī. Under ar-Rabadhah Yāqūt states that it is situated between as-Salīlah and ʻUmaq!

[5] Before al-Ḥufair there is a small station called al-Manjashāniyyah at 6 miles from al-Baṣrah. From this station to al-Ḥufair the distance according to al-Bakrī is 10 miles, so that between al-Baṣrah and al-Ḥufair there are 18 miles as in the text.

[6] The author of the *Qāmūs* writes ar-Raḥīl, but Yāqūt leaves not a doubt that the proper form is ar-Ruḥail.

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then to ash-Shajī, 27 miles, then to Ḥafar Abī Mūsā,[1] 26; then to Māwiyyah, 32; then to Dhātu-l-'Ushar, 29; then to al-Yansū'ah, 23; then to as-Sumainah, 29; then to al-Qaryatain, 22; then to an-Nibāj, 23; then to al-'Ausajah, 29; then to Rāmah.....; then to Immarah, 27; then to Ṭikhfah, 26; then to Ḍhariyyah, 18; then to Jadīlah, 32; then to Mulḥah,[2] 35; then to ar-Ruqai'iyyah,[3] 26; then to Qubā, 27; then to as-Sunbulah,[4] 27; then to Wajrah, 40; then to Dhāt 'Irq, 27. The whole distance is 700 miles.[5] The road of the West: you travel from Wailah[6] to Sharaf Dhi-n-Naml,[7] one stage; then to Madyan, one stage; then to **110.**

[1] Between ash-Shajī and Ḥafar Abī Mūsā Ibn Khurdādhbah mentions al-Kharjā' (Yāqūt, II, p. 418). Ḥafar Abī Mūsā are a number of wells which Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī caused to be dug during his governorship. Abū Mūsā was appointed to the government of al-Baṣrah by 'Umar in A.H. 17, in succession to al-Mughīrah. He was deposed by 'Uthmān in A.H. 29.

[2] This is evidently Faljah which Yāqūt places next before ad-Dathīnah, (II, p. 550).

[3] Although Yāqūt mentions a place on this road by the name of ar-Ruqai'ī, it is certain from a comparison of the statements of Yāqūt (II, p. 550) and the author of the *Tāju-l-'Arūs* (IX, p. 195), that this station is that known as ad-Dathīnah, which is also called sometimes ad-Dafīnah.

[4] This should be ash-Shubaikah as stated by M. de Goeje. In place of this station Ibn Khurdādhbah and Qudāmah have Marrān (Yāqūt, IV p. 478).

[5] This is doubtless a round number. However, M. de Goeje has been at pains to verify our author's statement. The aggregate of the miles actually given is 571. Adding to this the distance between 'Ausajah and Rāmah, say 29 miles, we get 600 miles up to Dhāt 'Irq. Now the distance from Dhāt 'Irq to Makkah is 56 miles, so that there only remains 44 miles, which M. de Goeje thus accounts for. The distance from al-Baṣrah to al-Ḥufair is really 36 and not 18 miles; this gives us 18 miles, and the remaining 26 miles may be taken to be the mileage of a station omitted by al-Muqaddasī, which is called al-Majāzah and which is situated between Dhātu-l-'Ushar and al-Yansū'ah. With regard to the distance between al-Baṣrah and al-Ḥufair, however, it is to be remarked that although the statement of Yāqūt (II, p. 297), bears out that of M. de Goeje, both al-Bakrī according to Sprenger and the author of *Tāju-l-'Arūs* say that the distance between these two places is only 18 miles.

[6] Or Ailah, the Elath of the Old Testament and the Aelana of classical geographers. A fortress called 'Aqabah now occupies the site of Wailah as it is to this day one of the stations on the route of Egyptian pilgrims to Makkah. Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Geog., I, 49 *a*.

[7] This is Sharafu-l-Ba'l of which the only description we have is that it is a mountain on the Syrian route to al-Madīnah. There is nothing to show its

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al-A'rā',[1] one stage; then to a halting-place (without a name), one stage; then to al-Kulāyah,[2] one stage; then to Shaghb, one stage; then to Badā,[3] one stage; then to ash-Sharjain;[4] then to al-Baiḍhā'; then to Wādi-l-Qurā. The route now in use is as follows: from Sharaf Dhi-n-Naml to aṣ-Ṣalā; then to an-Nabk;[5] then to Ḍhabbah;[6] then to al-'Aunīd; then to ar-Ruḥbah; then to Munkhūs; then to al-Buḥairah; then to al-Aḥsā'; then to al-'Ushairah; then to al-Jār; then to Badr. If you travel to Makkah from 'Umān, go from Ṣuḥār to Nazwah; then to 'Ajlah,[7] 30 miles; then to 'Aḍhwah, which is a fortress, 24
111. miles; then to Bi'ru-s-Silāḥ, 30 miles; then to Makkah, 21 days; on this route four stations are with wells, while eight stages pass through a desert of sand. If you travel to it from Hajar, go from al-Aḥsā' to.....[8] To reach it from Ṣan'ā' one travels first to ar-Raidah, one stage; then to Athāfit;[9]

position beyond the statement of al-Muqaddasī that it is the next station after Wailah. On the other hand almost all other geographers who have described this route say the station next to Wailah is called Ḥaql, the *Akale* of Ptolemy according to M. de Goeje. The probability is that the station itself bears the name of Ḥaql and that Sharafu-l-Ba'l is the name of a hill in its neighbourhood.

[1] This station is called in Ibn Khurdādhbah al-Aghzā' and in al-Idrīsī al-A'dā'.

[2] In Ibn Khurdādhbah this is called al-Kilābah.

[3] This is Badā Ya'qūb. It was from this place that Jacob set for Egypt.

[4] In Ibn Khurdādhbah and Qudāmah, as-Sarḥatain.

[5] An-Nabk or an-Nabak. *Tāju-l-'Arūs*, VII, p. 186.

[6] A village on the borders of the sea, at 70 miles from Badā Ya'qūb. Yāqūt, III, p. 464.

[7] In Keith Johnston's map of Asia in the *Royal Atlas* Nazwah, 'Ajlah and Bi'ru-s-Silāḥ are all marked. He also has a place midway between 'Ajlah and Bi'ru-s-Silāḥ which he calls Adhud. But, while the distance between Nazwah and Bi'ru-s-Silāḥ in al-Muqaddasī is only 84 miles, the distance between these two places in the map is more than twelve degrees. These names are spelt in the Atlas as follows: Nezwah, Ajla, Adhud and Bires Selah. The first two will be found in the map in Hf and the last two in Gf.

[8] A lacuna in the text. The route from Hajar passes through al-Yamāmah. The stations from al-Yamāmah to Makkah according to Ibn Khurdādhbah are: al-'Irḍh; al-Ḥadīqah; as-Saiḥ; ath-Thaniyyah; aṣ-Ṣafrah; as-Sudd; Sidārah; al-Qaryatain. At al-Qaryatain the Yamāmah route joins the great Baṣrah to Makkah route.

[9] A town with vineyards, corn-fields and springs. The people of the country call this place Thāfit (Yāqūt, I, p. 115.)

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then to Khaiwān;[1] then to al-A'mashiyyah;[2] then to Ṣa'dah; then to Ghurfah;[3] then to al-Mahjarah; then to Sharūrāḥ;[4] then to ath-Thujjah; then to Kuthbah;[5] then to Yabanbam,[6] which is at a distance of 8 miles from Jurash; then to Banāt Jarm,[7] one stage; then to Jasadā';[8] then to Bīshah; then to Tabālah;[9] then 112.
to Ranyah;[10] then to Kudayy;[11] then to Ṣafr;[12] then to Turabah; then to al-Futuq; then to al-Jadar;[13] then to al-Ghamrah.[14]

1 See above, page 139, note 2. It is a large village rich in vineyards which produce grapes in bunches of large size. There are two tanks in it and its inhabitants are 'Umarīs, *i.e.*, descendants of 'Umar ibnu-l-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Khurdādhbah.

2 A place without inhabitants, where there is a small spring. *Ibid.*

3 In Ibn Khurdādhbah it is called 'Ariqah. It is uninhabited and with but little water.

4 Or Sharūm Rāḥ, a large village with springs and vineyards.

5 In Ibn Khurdādhbah Kutnah, a large village with wells.

6 Yabanbam or Yabambam, as also Abanbam or Abambam. It is without inhabitants. With reference to the statement of the author that it is at a distance of 8 miles from Jurash, M. de Goeje remarks that Qudāmah says this of Kuthbah, Ibn Khurhādhbah of Thujjah, and al-Idrīsī of Sharūm.

7 Or Banāt Ḥarm. This is doubtless Banāt Ḥarb which according to Yāqūt is more generally called Ḥarb (II, p. 233). It is a large village with a spring and a well.

8 Jasadā' or Jusadā'. It has a well but no inhabitants.

9 A large town with springs.

10 A village with palms and springs. These springs are of the kind known as *buthūr*, namely, water flowing underneath gravelly grounds, at a depth of two cubits or less, sometimes even at such a little depth as to be forced up by the impact of animals' hoofs. Yāqūt, II, p. 826.

11 It is Karaʿ in Ibn Khurdādhbah: a place with palms and springs.

12 This is called Ṣafn in Ibn Khurdādhbah. He places it next to Turabah and speaks of it as having two wells.

13 This is called al-Jadad by Qudāmah. It is 12 miles distant from al-Ghamrah, the third station from Makkah on the Kūfah route. At al-Ghamrah the road parts, those making for Makkah going by way of Dhāt 'Irq and those for al-Yaman by way of al-Jadad. There is one well only, with palms and fields watered by means of camels. Qudāmah, p. 188.

14 The distances in miles between the stations on this route are as follows:—

From Ṣan'ā' to Raidah	20 m.	Ghurfah	22 m.
Athāfit	16 m.	Al-Mahjarah	12 m.
Khaiwān	15 m.	Sharū Rāḥ	14 m.
Al-A'mashiyyah	17 m.	Ath-Thujjah	16 m.
5. Ṣa'dah	22 m.	10. Kuthbah	20 m.

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The direct route[1] is through aṭ-Ṭā'if; I have not travelled on this route. From Makkah to aṭ-Ṭā'if there are two routes. You go to Bi'r Ibni-l-Murtafi', one stage; then to Qarn, one stage; then to aṭ-Ṭā'if, one stage. The other route is by way of 'Arafāt, two stages over the hill.[2] To reach Makkah from Wailah, through which all pilgrims from the west have to pass, there are several routes. The route along the coast goes from Wailah to Sharafu-l-Ba'l, one stage; then to aṣ-Ṣalā, one stage; then to an-Nabk, one stage; then to Dhabbah, one stage; then to 'Aunīd, one stage; then to ar-Ruḥbah, one stage; then to Munkhūs, one stage; then to al-Buḥairah, one stage; then to al-Aḥsā', one stage[3].....then to al-A'rā', one stage; then to al-Kulāyah, one stage; then to Shaghb, one stage; then to Badā, one stage; then to ash-Sharjain, one stage; then to al-Baiḍhā', one stage; then to Qurḥ, one stage; then to Suqyā Yazīd, one stage. As for al-Yaman, it is hardly possible for me to compute the number of stages over the different routes running through it as in the case of other districts; I will however

Yabanbam	20 m.	Ranyah	22 m.
Banāt Jarm	20 m.	Kudayy	16 m.
Jasadā'	22 m.	Turabah	15 m.
Bīshah	21 m.	Ṣafr	22 m.
15. Tabālah	11 m.	20. Futuq	23 m.

[1] In the route described above the traveller goes in the first instance to al-Ghamrah and then turns back to Dhāt 'Irq. There is however a direct route to Makkah from al-Futuq, through Qarnu-l-Manāzil and Bi'r Ibni-l-Murtafi'. Sprenger writes, 'On the road between Ṣafr and al-Futuq there is a station called Jildān. From this station to Ra'su-l-Manāqib is 12 miles. This is the most northerly point on this route. Here the traveller takes a turn to the south-west. Ra'su-l-Manāqib is not a station, this being Qarnu-l-Manāzil, which is 6 miles farther on. Qudāmah evidently describes the same route on p. 190.

[2] From 'Arafāt the traveller passes to the valley of Na'mān over a hill called Na'mānu-s-Saḥāb, from its being always covered with clouds. From the valley of Na'mān the road slopes upwards to the summit of an ascent ['aqabah] from which one gets a view of aṭ-Ṭā'if. The road descends again and again rises to a small elevation which is called Tan'imu-ṭ-Ṭā'if, to distinguish it from the place of the same name near Makkah.

[3] There is a lacuna here. The stations which follow are not a continuation of the same route, but are on the land route which passes through Madyan. Al-A'rā' is the station next after Madyan. Both routes have already been described.

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state what I have known and summarize what I have heard. From Ṣan'ā' to Ṣudā', 42 *farsakhs*. From Ṣan'ā' to Ḥaḍhramaut, 72 *farsakhs*. From Ṣan'ā', to Dhamār, 16 *farsakhs*; then to Nasafān and Kaḥlān, one stage (of 8 *farsakhs*); then to Ḥujr and Badr, 20 *farsakhs*; then to 'Adan, 24 *farsakhs*. From Dhamār to Yaḥṣib, one stage (of 8 *farsakhs*); then to as-Saḥūl, one stage (of 8 *farsakhs*); then to ath-Thujjah, the same distance; then to al-Janad, the same. From Ṣan'ā' to al-Janad, 48 *farsakhs*. From Ṣan'ā' to al-'Urf, one stage (of 8 *farsakhs*); then to Alhān, 10 *farsakhs*; then to Jublān, 14; then to Zabīd, 12. From Ṣan'ā' to Shibām, one stage (of 8 *farsakhs*). From Ṣan'ā' to 'Aththar, 10 stages.[1] Lastly from 'Adan to Abyan, 3 *farsakhs*.

The Province of al-'Irāq.

It is the country of men of refinement,[2] and the spring head of the learned. Of pure water and wonderfully fine air, it was the country chosen by the Caliphs. It has produced Abū Ḥanīfah,[3] the Doctor of Doctors, and Sufyān,[4] the chief of the Readers, and was the birth-place of Abū 'Ubaidah,[5]

[1] Al-Muqaddasī appears to use the stage here for a distance of 8 *farsakhs*.

[2] To give the full significance of the word ظرفاء it will not be amiss to transcribe what Arab lexicographers say in definition of it. The word signifies according to Lane *Excellent*, or *elegant, in mind, manners*, and *address* or *speech*; and *in person, countenance*, or *garb, guise*, or *external appearance*; or *all of these qualities combined*: or *clever, ingenious, intelligent*, or *acute in intellect*; *well-mannered, well-bred, accomplished* or *polite*; *beautiful in person* or *countenance*; *elegant*, or *graceful*.

[3] Abū Ḥanīfah was a native of al-Kūfah, but when Baghdād was founded al-Manṣūr invited him to the new capital of the Caliphate, where he died in A.H. 150. He was buried in the Khaizurān cemetery in the eastern quarter of the city. His shrine forms one of the suburbs of the modern town of Baghdād. Abū Ḥanīfah was born in A.H. 80.

[4] Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah. See *ante*, page 60, note 2. Sufyān lies buried at al-Ḥajūn in the Jannatu-l-Ma'lā, the sacred cemetery of Makkah.

[5] Abū 'Ubaidah Ma'mar ibnu-l-Muthanna, one of the most celebrated philologists and grammarians. He was a native of al-Baṣrah where he was born in A.H. 110. In the year 188 he proceeded to Baghdād on an invitation from Hārūnu-r-Rashīd. He died at al-Baṣrah in A.H. 209, leaving nearly two hundred treatises. Abū 'Ubaidah was the most accomplished scholar of the day, especially versed in the philology of the Arabic language, its idioms and rare expressions, and in the history of the ancient Arabs and their battle-days and poetry. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (De Slane, III, p. 388).

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al-Farrā',[1] Abū 'Amr[2] the author of one of the systems of reading, Ḥamzah,[3] al-Kisā'ī[4] and of many doctors of law, Readers and *littérateurs*, and noble persons, sages, able diplomatists, religious men and excellent, witty and intelligent people. It was here that Abraham the Friend was born,[5] and to this country many an illustrious Companion emigrated. Does it not contain al-Baṣrah, which has been declared to counterbalance the whole world? and Baghdād, whose praise is widespread? and the great Kūfah and Sāmarrā? Its river is without doubt one of the rivers of Paradise; while the dates of al-Baṣrah[6] are something not to forget. In fine, its

[1] Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrā', the grammarian, who was distinguished by his knowledge of grammar, philology, and various branches of literature. Al-Farrā' was born at al-Kūfah, but he usually resided at Baghdād. He wrote several works on grammar and the Qur'ān, and acted as tutor to the two sons of al-Ma'mūn. He died A.H. 207 on the road to Makkah at the age of sixty-three years. His life will be found in Ibn Khallikān, IV. 63.

[2] Abū 'Amr ibnu-l-'Alā'. See *ante*, p. 61, note 9.

[3] See *ante*, p. 61, note 7.

[4] Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah al-Kisā'ī, one of the seven *readers* of the Qur'ān and a great grammarian and philologist. He was born at al-Kūfah in A.H. 112 and died at ar-Rayy in A.H. 189. Ibn Khallikān, II. 237.

[5] Abraham's birthplace is said to have been Kūthā Rabbā, the ancient *Cuthah* of which mention is made in 2 Kings xvii. 24. Abraham is called the friend of God in Qur'ān iv. 124. The name however has a biblical origin. *Cf.* 2 Chronicles xx. 7; Isa. xli. 8; and James ii. 23.

[6] Al-Muqaddasī gives the names of 49 kinds of date all to be found in al-Baṣrah. They are transcribed here from page 130 *p* of the text; some of the names are of doubtful orthography and not to be found in dictionaries: aḍ-Ḍhabbī, al-Ḥarthī [al-Ḥārithī?], al-Khaishūm, aṣ-Ṣaḥrī (?), as-Sukkar, al-Bashkar, aṭ-Ṭabarzadh, al-Aḥmar [the red], al-Aṣfar [the yellow], al-Khustuwānī, al-Ma'qilī, al-Azādh, al-Hilbāth [*See* Lisānu-l-'Arab, *sub voce*. The text reads al-Hilyāth], al-Karrāmī, al-Qathriyyah (?) [M. de Goeje proposes to read al-Qithāwiyyah. The word might also be al-Qishriyyah, *Cf.* Lane قشر Dates, or dried dates, having much قشر (or skin).], al-Quraiṭī (?) [M. de Goeje proposes al-Quraiḍhī], al-Hairūm [Lisānu-l-'Arab *al-Hairūn*,] al-Bidālī (?), ar-Rīfī, al-'Arūsī, al-Bādhinjānī, al-Ibrāhīmī, az-Zunbūrī, al-Ya'ḍhūḍh [at-Ta'ḍhūḍh], al-Birnāj, al-Muḥaddar (?), al-Bairūnī, ash-Shuwaiqī (?) [there is a species of date called *ash-Shuwaithī*], al-Jaisuwān, al-'Amrī, al-Qurashī, al-Yamāmī, al-Barnī, as-Sihrīz, al-Ḥizkān (?), al-Ḥābirān (?), al-Aṣfar, al-Muḥakram (?), al-Qaṣab, al-Jinānī, al-Mudaḥraj, al-Gharbī (*al-Gharānī* of the text is a wrong reading), ash-Sharqī, al-Khwārizmī, al-Faḍl,

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excellencies are many and countless. The Sea of China touches its farthest extremity, the desert stretches alongside of it as thou seest, and the Euphrates discharges itself within its limits. But it is the house of sedition and famines, is daily retrogressing and suffers greatly from oppression and heavy taxes; besides, its fruits are few, its vices many and the burdens on the people heavy. This is its figure and form,[1] and God knows best and is wisest.

We have divided it into six districts and one dependency. The districts in the olden days were not the same as now, with the exception of Ḥulwān,[2] but we always follow the actual state of things. 114.

The old districts and capitals are inserted with the towns. The districts bear the same names as their capitals. They are, beginning from the Peninsula of the Arabs: al-Kūfah; next al-Baṣrah; then Wāsiṭ; Baghdād; Ḥulwān; and lastly Sāmarrā. Among the towns of al-Kūfah are the following:—Ḥammām Ibn-'Umar;[3] al-Jāmi'ain;[4] Sūrā; an-Nīl; al-Qādisiyyah; 'Ainu-t-Tamr. Of the towns of al-Baṣrah are:—al-Ubullah; Shiqq 'Uthmān;[5]

al-Ma'būrī, Baiḍhu-l-Baghl, al-Fāwisān (?). There is also the Ṣaiḥānī date, which Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsā'ī imported from al-Madīnah. For only two months are fresh dates wanting in al-Baṣrah.

[1] As stated before the editor has not reproduced the maps.

[2] This province was called by the Persians *Irān-shahr*, the origin according to the best authorities of the word *'Irāq*. It was divided by them into twelve districts. A description of these districts will be found further on. The Persian name of the district of Ḥulwān was Shādh Fairūz.

[3] The Bath of Ibn 'Umar: it is however more properly called Ḥammām 'Umar, as it was named after 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (al-Bilādhurī, p. 281). Ḥammām 'Umar was situated on a canal derived from the Euphrates called Nahru-n-Nars. It is marked in the map of Mesopotamia which accompanies Guy Le Strange's *Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād* by Ibn Serapion.

[4] Or the two Mosques; the modern town of Ḥillah, originally known as Ḥillat (Settlement of) Banī Mazyad. Yāqūt, II. 322. *See* Guy Le Strange's *Description of Mesopotamia*, p. 259.

[5] Both Yāqūt (III. 290) and al-Bilādhurī (p. 351) have Shaṭṭ 'Uthmān for Shiqq 'Uthmān. Shaṭṭ may apply to the lands along the banks of a canal, while Shiqq would apply to the canal itself. Shaṭṭ 'Uthmān was the property of 'Uthmān ibn Abi-l-'Āṣī ath-Thaqafī (*Iṣābah*, II. 1098), to whom 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān gave these lands in exchange for his house at al-Madīnah which he had appropriated for public use.

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Zabān; Badrān; Bayān; Nahru-l-Malik; Dubbā;[1] Nahru-l-Amīr;[2] Abu-l-Khaṣīb;[3] Sulaimānān;[4] 'Abbādān; al-Muṭṭawwi'ah;[5] al-Qindalah;[6] al-Maftaḥ;[7] al-Ja'fariyyah.[8] Of the towns of Wāsiṭ are:—Famu-ṣ-Ṣilḥ;[9] Darmakān; Qurāqubah; Siyādah; Bādhibīn;[10] as-Sikr; aṭ-Ṭīb; Qurqūb; Qaryatu-r-Raml; Nahr Tīrā;[11] Lahbān;

[1] In al-Bilādhurī (p. 363) there is mention made of a canal, which the author calls Nahr Rubbā and the digging of which he assigns to the Caliph ar-Rashīd. Under Dubbā, Yāqūt says the same thing of the canal of Dubbā. It is not likely that these are two different canals, but what is the true name of the canal? As Yāqūt has given it under the letter *d* in his Dictionary, the name may without hesitation be taken to be Dubbā. It is strange, however, that in giving the etymology of the word Yāqūt has said that *Dubbā* meant '*a she-goat that is confined in the tent*, or *house, for the sake of her milk*,' whereas in fact the word which has this meaning is *rubbā* and not *dubbā*.

[2] According to al-Bilādhurī (p. 362) this canal was the work of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, hence it was first called "Nahr Amīri-l-Mu'minīn," but afterwards it came to be known as the "Canal of the Prince" as al-Manṣūr had made a grant of it to his son Ja'far. It is the eighth of the nine canals of al-Baṣrah and flows at a *farsakh* below the Nahr Abil-l-Khaṣīb. *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 304.

[3] The seventh of the nine canals of al-Baṣrah, stated by al-Bilādhurī (p. 362) to have taken its name from Abu-l-Khaṣīb Marzūq, a freedman of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, who granted him the lands here in fief. The name is still found on the present map. Guy Le Strange, p. 307.

[4] Called after a certain Sulaimān ibn Jābir, surnamed "the Ascetic," who had taken up his abode here as a religious warrior. Ibn Ḥauqal describes it as lying opposite 'Abbādān. *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 302.

[5] The original form of the word is al-Muṭawwi'ah which is applied to volunteers in a holy war.

[6] Nahru-l-Qindal, the last of the nine canals of al-Baṣrah. *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 307.

[7] One of several small towns of al-Baṣrah situated along the bank of the Tigris, the order of their position being 'Abbādān on the sea, al-Ubullah, al-Maftaḥ and al-Madhār. *Iṣṭakhrī*, p. 81. See also Guy Le Strange, p. 303.

[8] Al-Ja'fariyyah lies on the desert side. This town had fallen into the hands of the Qarāmiṭah. *See* Arabic text, p. 118 *o*.

[9] A town on the east bank of the Tigris at the head of the canal of aṣ-Ṣilḥ which flowed from this river seven *farsakhs* above Wāsiṭ. Famu-ṣ-Ṣilḥ was situated between Jabbul and the latter town, at 32° 40′ of Lat. *Géog. d'Aboulf*, II. 78. See also Guy Le Strange, p. 44.

[10] A considerable village below Wāsiṭ on the bank of the Tigris. Yāqūt I. 461.

[11] There is a well-known town of this name in the district of al-Ahwāz which is probably identical with the town mentioned above. The Ahwāz and Wāsiṭ districts are conterminous, which accounts for the same town being located in both districts. The town is also called Nahr Tīrīn. It is 35 *farsakhs*

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Basāmiyah ;[1] Ūdisah. Of the towns of Baghdād are :— an-Nahra- 115.
wān; Baradān;[2] Kārah;[3] ad-Daskarah; Ṭarāstān ;[4] Hārūniyyah ;[5] Jalūlā'; Bājisrā ;[6] Bāqubah ;[7] Iskāf ;[8] Buwahriz ;[9] Kalwādhā; Darzījān ;[10] al-Madā'in ; Gīl ;[11] Sīb ;[12] Dairu-l-'Āqūl ; an-Nu'māniy-

distant from Wāsiṭ and only 7 from Sūqu-l-Ahwāz. Ibn Rustah states (p. 187) that the end of the district of Nahr Tīrin adjoins the beginning of the districts of the Tigris.

[1] Yāqūt, II. 574, Basāmatā. Ibnu-l-Athīr, IX. 128, Bashāmanā. See editor's footnote and also note at the bottom of page 440 of the Glossary.

[2] Baradān lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris at a distance of 4 *farsakhs* from the capital and was the first stage on the north road. Guy Le Strange, p. 39.

[3] A village of Baghdād to which couriers ran daily from Baghdād, returning the same evening. Yāqūt IV. 224.

[4] This is evidently the same as Ṭarāristān which is mentioned by Ibn Rustah (p. 164) and also in the *Kitābu-l-Buldān* of Ibnu-l-Faqīh (p. 213). At Ṭarāristān there was a *qanṭarah*, or an arched structure of masonry, over which the Baghdād-Khāniqīn road passed. It was situated between ad-Daskarah and Jalūlā' at about 20 *farsakhs* from Baghdād.

[5] This is the place mentioned in Ibn Rustah (p. 164) as being near the Qanṭarah of Ṭarāristān. Yāqūt (IV. 946) describes it as a village in the district of Baghdād near Shahrābān, on the Khurāsān road. The wonderful bridge of arches of which he speaks and which he calls Qanṭaratu-l-Hārūniyyah must be the same as Qanṭarat Ṭarāristān already mentioned. Another town called al-Hārūniyyah was situated in Syria. It was founded by Hārūn ar-Rashīd, from whom it took its name.

[6] According to Yāqūt (I. 454) Bājisrā was a small pleasant town to the east of Baghdād and 10 *farsakhs* distant from it. Bājisrā stood on the Tāmarrā canal.

[7] This is the place called in Yāqūt (I. 472) Bā'aqūbā or Ba'qūbā, which is the name by which it is known at the present day. Ba'qūbā lies on the Dayālai river (the Diyala of the maps) at a distance of 10 *farsakhs* from Baghdād.

[8] Iskāf Bani-l-Junaid. There were two places of this name, Iskāfu-l-'Ulyā between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ in the Nahrawān district and Iskāfu-s-Suflā also in the Nahrawān. Iskāf has been identified with the ruins marked Semak, or Sumakeh. Guy Le Strange, p. 269.

[9] According to Yāqūt (I. 764) a large village with gardens and a mosque, in the neighbourhood of Ba'qūbā, at about 8 *farsakhs* from Baghdād.

[10] Yāqūt (I. 567) describes it as a large village below Baghdād on the western bank of the Tigris. It was one of the seven Persian cities which were called collectively by the Arabs *al-Madā'in*. Its original name is stated to have been Darzīndān.

[11] Called also al-Jīl; a village below al-Madā'in. Yāqūt, I. 180.

[12] As-Sīb, or Sīb Banī Kūmā, lay on the bank of the Tigris, 7 *farsakhs*

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yah; Jarjarāyā; Jabbul; Nahr Sābus;[1] 'Abartā;[2] Bābil; 'Abdas; Qaṣr Ḥubairah. Of the towns of Ḥulwān are:—Khāniqīn; Zabūjān; Shalāshilān;[3] al-Jāmid;[4] al-Ḥurr; as-Sīrawān;[5] Bandanījān.[6] Of the towns of Sāmarrā are:—al-Karkh; 'Ukbarā; ad-Dūr;[7] al-Jāmi'ain [the two Mosques]; Batt;[8] Radhānāt;[9] Qaṣru-l-Jaṣṣ;[10]

below al-Madā'in (Qudāmah, p. 193). Here a battle took place in A.H. 262 between the troops of al-Mu'taḍhid and Ya'qūb aṣ-Ṣaffār, in which the latter was completely routed. Ibn Rustah, p. 186. *Al-Kāmil*, VII. 200.

[1] On the western bank of the Tigris, at the head of the canal of the same name and 12 *farsakhs* above Wāsiṭ. Guy Le Strange, p. 43.

[2] A large village on the Nahrawān canal. Yāqūt III. 604. Guy Le Strange, p. 266.

[3] In one of the MSS. this is written Shalāshān. This is also the name of the village in the *Kāmil* of Ibnu-l-Athīr. (*See* Vol. VI., pp. 172 and 181). Editor's note.

[4] The name is not found in the work of Yāqūt, but this author mentions a place which he calls al-Jāmidah and describes as a large village of the Wāsiṭ district. This is the same as al-Jawāmid of Ibn Serapion, p. 274.

[5] As-Sīrawān is 7 stages beyond Ḥulwān. It is generally included in the province of al-Jibāl.

[6] The town called in Yāqūt al-Bandanījain (I. 745). The original Persian name of the town was Wandanīkān. It is, he says, a well-known place on the far side of an-Nahrawān towards the Jabal (Persian 'Irāq). It is a dependency of Baghdād, but might also be reckoned among the townships of Mihrijānqadhaq. One of its inhabitants thus describes it: al-Bandanījain is a collection of hamlets, separate one from the other and each not visible from the others but of which the palm-trees continue with no interval. The largest hamlet was called Bāquṭnāyā, where there was a market and where the Governor's house and the residence of the Qāḍhī stood. The other hamlets were Buwaiqiyā, Sūq Jamīl and Filisht.

[7] There are two places bearing this name in the district of Sāmarrā both of which are situated between Takrīt and the city of Sāmarrā. The Dūr which is nearer to Takrīt is known as Dūr of Takrīt and is the same as that called by Ibn Serapion (p. 267) Dūr al-Ḥārith. The other Dūr, known as Dūr of Sāmarrā, formed one of the western suburbs of that city, beyond al-Karkh. This second Dūr is the place which al-Bilādhurī calls 'Araḍbāyā (p. 597). *Cf.* al-Ya'qūbī, p. 33.

[8] Yāqūt mentions two places called al-Batt. One is a village about the size of a town situated near Rādhān in the country round Baghdād. The other is a large village between Ba'qūbā and Buwahriz.

[9] On the eastern bank of the Tigris not far from Baghdād there are two districts known as Rādhānu-l-A'lā and Rādhānu-l-Asfal. But the village of Rādhānāt appears to be farther to the north. *Cf.* al-Bilādhurī, p. 265.

[10] Qaṣru-l-Jaṣṣ, "The Gypsum Palace," is described by Yāqūt (IV. 110)

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Ḥarī ;[1] Aiwānā ;[2] Barīqā ; Sindiyyah ;[3] Rāqafrūbah ; Dimimmā ;[4] al-Anbār ; Hīt ; Takrīt ; as-Sinn.

Should anyone say, 'Why didst thou place Bābil among the district towns when in ancient times the whole province was called after it ? Is it not a fact that al-Jaihānī began his work with the mention of these parts, calling the country by the name of Bābil ? So also it was called by Wahb in his *Mubtada'*[5] as well as by others of the learned.' I reply, 'We have avoided

as situated above the Palace named al-Hārūnī, which the Caliph al-Wāthiq built at Sāmarrā (*Cf.* Bilādhurī, p. 297). Guy Le Strange, *Description of Mesopotamia*, p. 266.

[1] The text has حرى Ḥarī, a name not found in any other writer and evidently corrupt. M. de Goeje remarks that it is probably جوى Juwai and that it may stand for جويث Juwaith, which is a place between Baghdād and Awānā near al-Baradān. It is more probable however that حرى is a corruption of حربى Ḥarbā, which Yāqūt (II. 235) describes as a small town on the upper end of the Dujail canal, between Takrīt and Baghdād and opposite to al-Ḥaḍhīrah. Ḥarbā and al-'Alth according to Ibn Khurdādhbah (p. 14) mark the limit of the Sawād (al-'Irāq) on the north. Ḥarbā still exists on the western side of the Dujail canal, where there is a magnificent stone bridge, now partly in ruin, built by the last 'Abbāside Caliph but one, al-Mustanṣir, in A.H. 629 (1232). Guy Le Strange, p. 39.

[2] More generally called Awānā, a small pleasant town with many gardens and trees in the Dujail district, at a distance of 10 *farsakhs* from Baghdād in a northerly direction (Yāqūt I. 395). The ruins of Awānā still exist on the left bank of the old bed of the Tigris. Guy Le Strange, p. 39.

[3] As-Sindiyyah is a village situated on the Nahr 'Isā between Baghdād and al-Anbār. (Yāqūt III. 168). Nahr 'Isā is the first of the four great canals which flow off from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Guy Le Strange, p. 71.

[4] A large village on the Euphrates near the hamlet of al-Fallūjah (Yāqūt II. 600). Guy Le Strange, p. 71.

[5] Although Ḥājī Khalfa does not mention *al-Mubtada'*, there is no question that its author is the same person as Wahb ibn Munabbih. Wahb (A.H. 24–114) (A.D. 646–733) was a Jew converted to Islamism and was highly esteemed in his day as a transmitter of historical information. As Baron de Slane remarks, a great part of the information which the Musulman historians give us respecting the anteislamic history of Persia, Greece, Yemen, Egypt and other countries comes from him. De Slane adds that he was an audacious liar, as Moslim critics of a later period at length discovered. Ibn Khallikān mentions a treatise of his entitled *An account of the crowned kings belonging to the race of Ḥimyar, with their history, the anecdotes related of them, the indication of their tombs and specimens of their poetry.* Ibn Khallikān III. 671.

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this and the like questions by accepting in the treatment of our subject the actual situation of affairs, just as is the case in the matter of Oaths. Dost thou not see it stated that if a man who
116. had sworn not to eat heads were to eat of the heads of oxen or sheep, he would break his oath, while Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad[1] on the other hand say that his oath is not broken thereby? In respect of this I have heard our chief doctors say, 'We do not consider this to be a difference between them; for, in the time of Abū Ḥanīfah these heads were sold and eaten, while in their time the custom had fallen into disuse.' Now, we have travelled the empire of Islām through its length and breadth and have not heard the people call this province by any other name than that of al-'Irāq; nay, most people do not know where Bābil is. Again dost thou not see how Abū Bakr answered 'Umar when the latter asked him to send his troops to these parts? "It is more pleasing to me, he said, that God should give into my possession one span of the Holy Land than a whole district of the districts of al-'Irāq." He did not say 'of the districts of Bābil.' If it be further said, 'the words of God, the most High,' "—and what has been revealed to the two angels at Bābil,"[2] are a proof in support of our contention; I answer, 'This name may be made applicable to both the province and the town: that it is applied to the town is a point on which all are in accord, for no two ever dispute about its name; that it is applied to the whole province is a controverted point. It is therefore to the one who so applies it to bring proofs.'

Al-Kūfah is a large and pleasant town, well-built, with splendid markets and abundant supplies, and forming a centre of habitation to many people who are able to find in it easy means of livelihood. It was founded by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ[3] in the days of 'Umar.

[1] Muḥammad ibnu-l-Ḥasan ash-Shaibānī (A.H. 135–189) (A.D. 753-806), the celebrated doctor of the School of Abū Ḥanīfah. See *ante*, p. 149, note 4. His life will be found in Ibn Khallikān (II. 590).

[2] Qur'ān, ii. 96.

[3] Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was one of the earliest converts to the Faith and was present with the Prophet at the battles of Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq and the rest. Early in A.H. 14 'Umar appointed him commander of the army of conquest in al-'Irāq and the great victory of al-Qādisiyyah which he won towards the end of the same year, opened to him the way to al-Madā'in, the capital of Persia, which was captured in Ṣafar of the year 16 (March, 637 A.D.). In A.H. 18 Sa'd laid the foundations of al-Kūfah in an extensive plain not far

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Every tract of sand mixed with pebbles is known as *kūfah*,[1]—dost thou not observe the nature of the ground here? The town which formerly stood in this neighbourhood was al-Ḥīrah[2] which is now in ruins. The first of the Companions who settled

from al-Ḥīrah and lying above the banks of the western branch of the Euphrates. The dwellings were made at first of reeds but as fires were frequent they were afterwards built of brick. Sa'd continued governor of al-Kūfah up to A.H. 21 when he was deposed by 'Umar. He was however reinstated in his former office in A.H. 24, early in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, but recalled after he had been a little more than a year in office. The name of Sa'd's father, Abu-l-Waqqāṣ, was Mālik ibn Wuhaib ibn 'Abd-Manāf ibn Zuhrah al-Qurashī. Sa'd was a brave general and one of the ten chief Companions of the Prophet and nearly related to him. His death occurred in A.H. 55 at his castle in al-'Aqīq, a valley seven or ten miles from al-Madīnah, and was buried at the famous cemetery of al-Baqī'. *Nawawī*, p. 275. Sir W. Muir's *The Caliphate*, p. 133, etc.

[1] Yāqūt (IV. 322) gives as many as seven etymologies of the word *al-Kūfah*, but the above appears to be the best. Ibnu-l-Kalbī gives his opinion that it was so named from a small hill in its immediate neighbourhood which was called Kūfān.

[2] Al-Ḥīrah was the capital of the Arab tribes occupying the tract west of the Euphrates. It lay on the plain of Najaf and stood like its successor al-Kūfah on the western branch of the Euphrates. Long before its occupation by the Muslims in 12 A.H. (633 A.D.) the Lakhmite dynasty had ceased to rule over this city, which was then and had been for many years past governed by a Persian Satrap (*The Caliphate*, p. 56). The palace of Khawarnaq was about a mile to the east of the city and stood on a canal of the same name which flowed into the Lake of Najaf. As-Sadīr, another celebrated palace of the kings of al-Ḥīrah was to the west, on a stream which also bore the same name. The following table gives the succession of the kings of al-Ḥīrah so far as they can be fixed. It is taken from Lyall's *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, pp. 101-2.

Legendary Kings:—	Length of Reign.
1. 'Amr I., son of 'Adī, son of Naṣr, son of Rabī'ah, son of Lakhm	118, 100, or 60 years.
2. Imra'u-l-Qais I.	45½ „
3. 'Amr II., son of No. 2	30 „
4. Aus son of Qallām, "an Amalekite" (*i.e.*, race unknown)	5 „
5. Imra'u-l-Qais II.	25 „
6. An-Nu'mān I., son of No. 5, builder of Khawarnaq, tutor of King Bahrām Gōr: said to have renounced the world and become an anchorite at the end of his reign	29 yrs. 4 m.
Semi-historical Kings:—	
7. Al-Mundhir I.: his mother was Hind of Ghassān ...	44 years.

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in al-Kūfah was 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib,[1] who was accompanied by 'Abdu-llah ibn Mas'ūd[2] and Abu-d-Dardā'.[3] After this they fol-

8. Al-Aswad, son of No. 7: his mother Hirr, of Shaibān, of Bakr ... ... 20 years.
9. Al-Mundhir II., brother of No. 8, and son of Hirr ... 7 „

Historical Kings:—

10. An-Nu'mān II., son of No. 8, his mother sister of al-Ḥāriṯh al-Kindī. (We know from Joshua Stylites that he died from a wound in 503 A.D.) ... ... 4 „
11. Abū Ya'fur, of the Lakhmite race, but not of the royal stock ... ... 3 „
12. Al-Mundhir III., son of Imra'u-l-Qais, also called by the Arabs son of Mā'u-s-Samā', and by the Greeks Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ Ἀκικᾶς ... ... 49 „

This prince began to reign in 505 or 506, and was killed by al-Ḥāriṯh the Lame of Ghassān at 'Ain Ubāgh in June, 554. He was constantly attacking the Roman borders, and is frequently mentioned by Byzantine writers.

13. 'Amr III., son of No. 12: his mother Hind, daughter of al-Ḥāriṯh of Kindah. Called by the Greeks Ἄμβρος ὁ Ἀλαμουνδάρου (554–569) ... ... 15-16 years.
14. Qābūs, brother of No. 13, and also son of Hind (569–573). Called by the Greeks Καμβώσης or Καβώσης ... 4 „
15. Suhrāb (a Persian Satrap, not a king) probably less than a year.
16. al-Mundhir IV., brother of No. 13, and son of Hind ... 4 years. Probably an interregnum.
17. An-Nu'mān III., Abū Qābūs, son of No. 16 (whose reign may be considered to fall between 58½ and 60½) ... 22 „

[1] 'Alī transferred the seat of government from al-Madīnah to al-Kūfah in the 36th year of the Hijrah, seven months after his accession to the Khilāfah. Al-Kūfah remained the capital of Islām for about five years only, namely, during the remainder of the Caliphate of 'Alī and the five or six months of al-Ḥasan's reign. Nearly a century after al-Kūfah was to see the birth of the 'Abbāside Caliphate within its walls but it was soon abandoned as the seat of government. It is however destined to be the last capital of Islām, for here it is believed will the Mahdī reign.

[2] 'Abdu-llah ibn Mas'ūd was appointed by 'Umar to the charge of the treasury of al-Kūfah as early as A.H. 21. He died in 32 A.H., four years before 'Alī first set his foot in al-Kūfah. Ibn Mas'ūd was an early convert to Islām and was present at all the Prophet's battles. He was a constant attendant on the Prophet and so came to be considered as an authority on many points of practical religion. He was also learned in the Qur'ān and had a 'reading' of his own (*The Caliphate*, p. 187). He is sometimes called Ibn Umm 'Abd after his mother. His life will be found in the biographical dictionary of an-Nawawī, p. 369.

[3] Abu-d-Dardā' 'Uwaimir ibn 'Āmir al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī. According to the best authorities Abu-d-Dardā' died in 31 or 32 A.H., so that he could not

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lowed in quick succession.[1] The mosque[2] is situated to the east;[3] it is erected on lofty pillars of joined stones, and is beautiful and 117
well-built. The river flows on that side of the city which is in the direction of Baghdād. There are wells of brackish but drinkable water in it, and palm-plantations and gardens surround it on all sides. They have also reservoirs and subterraneous aqueducts. The quarter called al-Kunāsah[4] is on the side of the desert. The

have accompanied 'Alī to al-Kūfah; but some say that his death occurred after the battle of Ṣiffīn, which was fought in 37 A.H. (*Iṣābah*, III. 90). It does not appear however that he ever visited al-Kūfah. He is said to have embraced the Faith of Islām on the day of the battle of Badr and to have been present at all the subsequent fights. At the same time that Mu'āwiyah was appointed governor of Syria, Abu-d-Dardā' was nominated to the Qāḍhīship of Damascus, which post he held to the time of his death. His grave and that of his wife the younger Ummu-d-Dardā' are well-known at Damascus. The younger Ummu-d-Dardā, whose name was Hujaimah, is spoken of as a lady learned in the law and of ascetic temperament. She was called "younger," or aṣ-Ṣughrā, as Abu-d-Dardā' had another wife who was also called Ummu-d-Dardā'. The latter's name was Khairah and she was known as al-Kubrā or the Elder. *Nawawī*, pp. 713 and 859. Al-Bilādhurī, p. 141.

[1] The word كلها which occurs here in the text is out of place, nor is it found in MS. C which however adds words to the effect that the city was built of brick.

[2] This mosque is the fourth among the mosques of Islām in point of veneration. Many curious legends have gathered round it. For example, the oven whence it is believed the first waters of the deluge gushed out is said to have been here, while the ark moved forth on its course from where the mosque now stands. Moses' rod and Solomon's ring are also said to be somewhere within its precincts. Yāqūt gives a lengthy description of it, IV. 325. (See also *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 173). The mosque was built by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ who at the same time laid the foundations of the city. It was afterwards enlarged during the governorship of al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, and next 'Ubaidu-llah ibn Ziyād converted it into a beautiful building. Bilādhurī, p. 277.

[3] It appears that the mosque was erected in the centre of the city, so that the reading of MS. C, which has السوق in place of الشرق, is probably more correct. As a matter of fact the market-place was hard by the mosque. *Cf.* al-Ya'qūbī, p. 311.

[4] According to Yāqūt (IV. 307), it was near this place that Zaid, grandson of al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī, was slain in his attempt on the city of al-Kūfah in the year A.H. 122, when he laid open claim to the Caliphate in virtue of his descent from the Prophet. The governor of the city at the time of his rebellion was Yūsuf ibn 'Umar ath-Thaqafī, who was noted for his cruel and tyrannical nature.

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town is on the decline and its suburbs are in ruins. It was formerly as great as Baghdād. Al-Qādisiyyah[1] is a town situated on the border of the desert; it is peopled during the pilgrim season, when all kinds of good things are carried to it. It has two gates and a mud fortress. A canal has been carried from the Euphrates to a reservoir at the Baghdād Gate. There are also springs of tolerable water and another canal leading to the gate on the desert side, which is filled with water during the pilgrimage season. The town is one large market in which stands the mosque. Sūrā[2] is a town with many kinds of fruits and grapes; it has

[1] The small town of al-Qādisiyyah was situated in a great plain which lay between al-'Atīq, an old channel of the Euphrates, on the east and al-Khandaq (the 'Trench of Sapor') on the west. This is the same fosse which Shapur or Sapor II. (A.D. 310–381) made along the western limits of al-'Irāq from Hīt to Kāḍhimah on the Persian Gulf as a bar to Bedouin incursions (Yāqūt, II. 476). On the plain here described was fought the famous battle of al-Qādisiyyah, which gave the deathblow to the Kingdom of Persia and left the Arabs masters of the situation. The battle lasted for four days, at the end of which Rustam the Persian General was slain and his army literally destroyed. Each day had its name, the first being called the Day of Armāth, the second the Day of Aghwāth, the third the Day of 'Imās and the fourth the Day of al-Qādisiyyah. With regard to the first three, Yāqūt (I. 321) is not certain whether they are names of places or have some particular meaning. If we take the second to refer to the 'succour' brought by the Syrian contingent as Sir W. Muir thinks (*The Caliphate*, p. 120 *n*), we may understand the first to mean '*old, worn-out ropes*' or '*the rimṯh* shrubs, the leaves of which are described as *drooping*,' thus referring to the confusion of the Arabs on the first day when attacked by the elephants and their being downcast at the uncertain issue of the day. Ibn Khaldūn calls this day 'the Day of ar-Rumāt,' or the Archers, as it was through the efforts of a band of archers that the Arabs were rid from the danger of these elephants. But although this name appears to be very proper, the verses cited in Yāqūt (I. 211) shew that this could not have been the real name. The third name is spelt in Yāqūt 'Imās (III. 717), and although the word '*amās* does mean 'a furious battle,' we prefer to call this day with Sir W. Muir, *Ghimās*, which means according to Lane 'the throwing one's self into the midst of war or fight; and the mixing, or engaging, in fight or conflict.' The battle on the third day was continued throughout the following night, which is called *Lailatu-l-Harīr*, 'The Night of Clangour.' Sir W. Muir gives a full description of this battle in his *Caliphate*, p. 107 *et seq.*

[2] Sūrā was situated on the canal which bore the same name and which is now part of the main stream of the Euphrates. This river in its lower course divides into two branches. The western branch, which formerly was the main channel, passes to the city of al-Kūfah and shortly after flows into the

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many inhabitants. The remaining towns are small and populous. 'Ainu-t-Tamr[1] is well-fortified; its people are somewhat greedy.

Al-Baṣrah is a noble capital founded by the Muslims in the days of 'Umar, who wrote to his lieutenant saying, 'Build thou a town for the Muslims between Persia and the country of the Arabs, at the extreme border of al-'Irāq, on the China sea.'[2] The site of al-Baṣrah having been fixed upon, the Arabs settled there:

Swamps. It was known by the name of *al-'Alqamī*. The other branch is itself the Sūrā canal. For a part of its downward course it is called the Upper Sūrā, which after flowing by many villages and cultivated lands passes in front of Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah, where there is a bridge called Jisr Sūrā. It then runs on past the town of al-Qaṣr for six *farsakhs* when it divides into two channels. That flowing to the south is known as the Lower Sūrā, which passes through the ruins of Bābil and al-Ḥillah. The other channel, which is the Upper Sūrā Canal itself but now called Nahru-ṣ-Ṣarāt, passes to the east and goes to join the Tigris. (*Ibn Serapion*, Guy Le Strange, p. 255). The town of Sūrā appears to have been situated on the Upper Sūrā Canal, probably near Jisr Sūrā. Yāqūt (III. 184) simply says that it was near al-Ḥillah, from which it does not follow however that it was on the same branch of the canal.

[1] 'Ainu-t-Tamr was a town situated on the desert border at three days' journey to the west of al-Anbār, on a stream which falls into the Euphrates, on its western bank, below the city of Hīt. It was a place of some importance at the time of the conquest and a Persian fortress stood there which was reduced by Khālid ibnu-l-Walīd in A.H. 12. *The Caliphate*, p. 60. Guy Le Strange, pp. 56 and 62.

[2] The first invasion of the Delta of the Tigris and Euphrates occurred in the year A.H. 12 during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and under his great general Khālid ibnu-l-Walīd. But it was not till some years after that the rule of Islām was thoroughly established there, when 'Umar deputed 'Uṭbah ibn Ghazwān as his first governor of the Delta. Before his arrival the Arabs were making constant raids in this tract under a chief of the name of Suwaid ibn Quṭbah adh-Dhuhlī, or as others say Quṭbah ibn Qatādah as-Sadūsī, who was left in command here by Khālid. Some correspondence appears to have taken place between this chief and 'Umar regarding a site for a new town to be built here, but no definite orders were given until after the arrival of 'Utbah, who is thus looked upon as the real founder of al-Baṣrah. By the desire of 'Umar, the town was built on the western or Arabian side of the Tigris, that no water communication may intervene between it and his capital. This is apparently what is meant by the words 'at the border of al-'Irāq,' the opposite or eastern side of the river being considered Persian territory. For the founding of al-Baṣrah and the military events which preceded it, see Sir W. Muir's *The Caliphate*. The date of its foundation is given by some as the year A.H. 14, but the more general opinion is that it was built in A.H. 17 (A.D. 638), six months before the foundation of its rival al-Kūfah.

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dost thou not see it divided into separate quarters up to the present day.[1] After this, 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān[2] made it the provincial city. It is in the form of a *ṭailasān*.[3] Two canals have been brought to it from the Tigris—the Nahru-l-Ubullah and the Nahr Ma'qil[4]—which after joining flow in front of the city.

[1] Al-Baṣrah was laid out on the same plan as al-Kūfah, namely, in *Khiṭaṭ*. This consisted in every man taking and marking for himself exclusively a piece of ground, not so appropriated before, on which to build a house or for use as a habitation or the like. As Lane remarks this is done when the Sulṭān, or supreme authority in the State, gives permission to a number of the Muslims to found houses in a particular place, and to make their abodes there.

[2] 'Utbah ibn Ghazwān was of the number of those early converts who went to Abyssinia in the first emigration to that country. Having returned to Makkah, he again left it with the Prophet in the great *hijrah* of Islām, and was present with him at the famous battle of Badr. He accompanied Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in his great expedition against al-Ḥīrah, and it was while he was thus engaged that 'Umar ordered him to proceed to the Delta as governor. Here he organized several successful expeditions against the Persian provinces of the Chosroes, and having remained for some time in the country, left it on a visit to the Caliph. On his way back to al-Baṣrah he died near Baṭn Nakhl in A.H. 17, being 57 years of age.

[3] That is, in the form of a stole. The description Abu-l-Fidā' gives (I. 72) of the two canals of al-Baṣrah explains this. Of these the northern one—Nahr Ma'qil—after flowing for the greater part of its length in a westerly direction takes a turn to the south. From this turning point to just in front of al-Baṣrah the course of the canal is in the form of a great arch. The southern canal—Nahru-l-Ubullah—flows exactly on the same lines, namely, first in a westerly direction and then northward, also in the form of an arch, till it joins the other canal before al-Baṣrah. Thus joined these two canals, it will readily be seen, form with reference to the Tigris a half circle having for a diameter a line running parallel to the river from one turning point in their course to the other. The tract of land situated between the river and these two canals is a great island covered by gardens and cultivated fields in every part of it.

[4] These two canals were each four *farsakhs* in length. Nahr Ma'qil was called after Ma'qil ibn Yasār al-Muzanī, a companion of the Prophet who had settled at al-Baṣrah (Yāqūt, IV. 845). The other canal took its name from the ancient town of al-Ubullah (called by the Greeks Ἀπόλογος), which stood at its mouth. These canals were the chief waterways by which ships reached al-Baṣrah and left it for the Indian Ocean. The process is thus described by Abu-l-Fidā' (I. 72). When it is flood-tide the Ubullah canal discharges its waters in the canal of Ma'qil, causing the water in this canal to go against the stream. This continues to be the case so long as the tide is in flood and during the whole of this time ships coming from the Indian

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Several other canals[1] branch off to it from the side of 'Abbādān (on the south) and al-Madhār[2] (on the north). It has its greatest length along the bank of this stream, with its houses stretching on the mainland to the desert border. A single gate opens to the plain on this side. Its width from the canal bank to this gate is about three miles. There are three mosques in it. One is in the midst of the markets; it is beautiful and magnificent, well-kept and well-frequented. It has not its equal in al-'Irāq. It is supported on white pillars. Another stands near the gate leading to the desert; this was the chief mosque in the olden days. The other mosque is at the farther end of the town. The markets consist of three sections: al-Kallā'[3] which is

Ocean ascend the Tigris from 'Abbādān to the town of al-Ubullah and again to al-Baṣrah through the canal of al-Ubullah, and afterwards go back to the Tigris by the canal of Ma'qil. When it is ebb-tide the water flows from the canal of Ma'qil to that of al-Ubullah, as the stream of the Tigris passes first by the Ma'qil canal.

[1] A description of these canals will be found in Abu-l-Fidā' (I. 71) and also in Ibn Serapion (p. 303). They are nine principal canals from which numerous smaller ones have been taken. The first canal, that highest up, is Nahru-l-Mar'ah or "the Woman's Canal," called after a Persian princess who had a castle here at the time of the first Muslim invasion. The second canal is that called Nahru-d-Dair, from a convent which stood at its mouth called Dairu-d-Dihdār (Yāqūt, IV. 839). The third is the canal called Bithq Shīrīn, after Shīrīn, the Queen of Khusrau Parwīz. Bithq, as Guy Le Strange remarks, means a "cutting" in the dyke, through which water flows. The fourth and fifth canals are the Nahr Ma'qil and Nahru-l-Ubullah already described. The sixth canal is called Nahru-l-Yahūdī or "the Jew's canal." The seventh is Nahr Abi-l-Khaṣīb. The eighth Nahru-l-Amīr and the ninth Nahru-l-Qindal.

[2] Al-Madhār appears to have been situated above the present junction of the Euphrates with the Tigris. It was the capital of Maisān, one of the provinces east of the Tigris, and lay four days' journey from al-Baṣrah. Yāqūt, IV. 468. Guy Le Strange, p. 302.

[3] Kallā' literally means 'a station of ships near the bank of a river': so called because it keeps the vessels safe كلأ from the wind, or because the wind there becomes slackened كلّ or 'a place where ships are moored, near the bank of a river.' Lane. Hence al-Kallā' is the name of an anchoring-place at al-Baṣrah, and Sūqu-l-Kallā' was so called from it (Yāqūt, IV. 293). Abu-l-Fidā' (I. 72) calls it al-Mīnā, which is also a common name for ports. Al-Mīnā is according to Reinaud the Greek word λιμήν in an altered form.

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along the bank of the canal, the Great Market and the Bābu-l-Jāmi' market. All these markets are good. This town is superior in my view to Baghdād, on account of its ample resources and the great number of godly people in it. I was once present in a company wherein were most of the doctors of Baghdād and its learned men, when the conversation turned on Baghdād and al-Baṣrah. Their
118 final vote was to the effect that if the inhabited parts of Baghdād were brought together and the ruined places eliminated, it would not be larger than al-Baṣrah. The desert side of al-Baṣrah has now fallen in ruins. This town derives its name from the black stones which were used as ballast by the ships of al-Yaman, and which were thrown here. Others say, Nay, it is from whitish soft stones; while Quṭrub[1] says it is from another meaning of the word, to wit 'rugged ground.' The baths of al-Baṣrah are pleasant. Fish[2] and dates abound in it, and it is besides well-provided with flesh of animals, and with vegetables and cereals and different kinds of milk. Science and commerce also flourish in it. But the water-supply is meagre, the air unhealthy and miasmal, while strange scenes of violence are constantly occurring. Al-Ubullah is on the Tigris, at the mouth of the canal of al-Baṣrah, on its northern bank. The mosque is at the farthest side of it. It is a large and flourishing village, more profitable than al-Baṣrah and more spacious. Shiqq 'Uthmān is immediately opposite to it, on the southern bank of the canal. The mosque, a fine building, is situated at the extreme end of the canal. The remaining towns are on canals on both sides of the Tigris, to right and left and south and north. They are all large and important towns. 'Abbādān is a town which lies on an island situ-

[1] Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibnu-l-Mustanīr ibn Aḥmad, surnamed Quṭrub, a grammarian and philologist of al-Baṣrah and author of some works of great merit. He was a pupil of the famous Sībawaih, who is responsible for the name by which he is generally known. *See* Ibn Khallikān, III. 29. Quṭrub died A.H. 206 (A.D. 821).

[2] At page 130 *p* of the text our author states that there are twenty-four species of fresh-water fish in the Tigris of al-Baṣrah. They are:—ash-Shīm, az-Zajr, al-Bunnī (the *cyprinus Bynni* of Forskål), al-Jirrī (the eel), ash-Shilq or ash-Shaliq, az-Zunjūr, al-Bammī, as-Sāḥ, ash-Shā'im, al-Kurtak, ash-Shalānī, ad-Dabqāh, ar-Ramāyin, al-Baiḍhāwī, al-Irbiyān (the prawn), al-Burāk, al-Bursūḥ (Gloss. p. 187 Barashtūj), al-Usbūl, al-Ḥurāq, ar-Rabalta (Gloss. p. 244 ar-Rubaithā), al-'Ain, az-Zajar, as-Saḥdān, al-Mārmāhī. Most of these names are unrecognizable, while some well-known species of fish are left out in this account.

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ated between the Tigris of al-'Irāq and the river of Khūzistān,[1] on the sea-coast. There is no town or village beyond it, but only the sea. There are *ribāṭs*[2] here and religious men and virtuous people, who are mostly weavers of reed mats. The supply of fresh water however is insufficient; while the sea closes upon it on all sides.[3]

Wāsiṭ[4] is a large capital having two opposite quarters with two mosques and a bridge between. It is a seat of great plenty and abounds with fish. The mosque of al-Ḥajjāj, as well as his dome,[5] is in the western quarter, towards the end of the markets, far from the river bank. It is in a ruinous state, but filled at all times with reciters of the Qur'ān. The town was founded by al-Ḥajjāj, and was called Wāsiṭ from its situation in the middle of

[1] 'Abbādān stood on the island formed by the estuaries of the Tigris and the Dujail (or Kārūn river). It exists at the present day, but lies more than twenty miles inland from the present sea-coast. Guy Le Strange, p. 302.

[2] One of the meanings of *ribāṭ* is 'a religious house, or house inhabited by devotees,' but the word means here a fortress on the frontier of an enemy or in a place exposed to the attacks of an enemy, as a sea-port or the like, where volunteers keep post for the defence of religion.

[3] MS. C adds here: The Prophet, *peace and blessing be upon him*, hath said, 'Whosoever of you reaches 'Abbādān let him keep post, or remain, in it, for it is a piece of the mud of Baitu-l-Maqdis (the Holy City, *i.e.*, Jerusalem) which the flood of the deluge carried hither in the days of Noah and which will certainly return to its former place on the day of Resurrection.'

[4] The military station of Wāsiṭ was founded in A.H. 83 (A.D. 702), in the reign of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān. It was so called as being midway between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, and was no doubt intended as a check on both cities. Its situation made it the chief military centre of the empire and it so continued as long as the Caliphate itself. (*The Caliphate*, p. 349). Wāsiṭ occupied both banks of the Tigris, the two quarters being connected by a bridge of boats. The old town was on the eastern side of the river. Al-Ḥajjāj founded a new town on the western side, where he built his magnificent palace which contained a Green Dome, celebrated as the *Khaḍhrā'* of Wāsiṭ and said to have been so high that it could be seen from Famu-ṣ-Ṣilḥ, a distance of about 21 miles. Near this palace stood the Great Mosque called Masjidu-l-Ḥajjāj after its founder. The mosque in the eastern quarter was known as the Masjid of Mūsā ibn Bughā, who was a Turkish General in the service of the 'Abbāside Caliphs, from 248 to 264 A.H., the son of Bughā the elder. The ruins of Wāsiṭ lie on what is now called the Shaṭṭu-l-Ḥayy, the Tigris having changed its course considerably to the east. See al-Ya'qūbī (p. 322), Ibn Rustah (p. 187), and Guy Le Strange (p. 44).

[5] The celebrated *Khaḍhrā'* of Wāsiṭ. *See* last note.

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the chief cities of al-'Irāq and the city of al-Ahwāz.[1] It is rich in supplies, the air is health-giving and the water fresh. It has, besides, markets well laid out and extensive fields. At each end of the bridge a place has been provided for the passage of ships. The
119. people of Wāsiṭ are men of some refinement. The district towns are all small and dilapidated, the best among them being aṭ-Ṭīb and Qurqūb;[2] but the dependency[3] is flourishing. Aṣ-Ṣalīq[4] lies on the shore of a lake measuring forty *farsakhs* in extent. Its fields reach to the very outskirts of al-Kūfah; but the heat is very great, and the air foul and oppressive. There is a perfect pest of mosquitoes and life is a misery. Their food is fish, their drink is hot water, and their nights a torture. Their intellects are weak, and their language corrupt; they have little salt and much misery. It is however a rich source for the supply of flour, has a mild government, abundant water, and fish in considerable quantities. The town has a great name, and the inhabitants are to a man steadfast in the fight, and well-acquainted with the river. They have a place resembling in pleasantness the canal of al-Ubullah. The next town in point of size is al-Jāmidah. Both places are at a distance from the Tigris. The remaining towns are inferior to them. This region of lakes and swamps and cultivated fields which yield for al-'Irāq an abundant supply of provisions is known as *al-Baṭā'iḥ*.

[1] Wāsiṭ lay equidistant (about 50 *farsakhs*) from al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, al-Ahwāz and Baghdād. The true reason of the town being so called however is, as already stated, its situation midway between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah.

[2] Both these towns are situated between Wāsiṭ and al-Ahwāz. They are often included among the towns of Khūzistān. Aṭ-Ṭīb lies 17 *farsakhs* from Wāsiṭ and Qurqūb another 7 *farsakhs* to the east. The ruins of aṭ-Ṭīb are marked in Keith Johnston's *Atlas*. Here were, according to Yāqūt (III. 566), talismans against venomous animals and other curiosities.

[3] By the dependency, the district of al-Baṭā'iḥ or the Swamps is evidently intended. The author divided al-'Irāq into six districts and one dependency. He gave the names of the six districts, but left the dependency unnamed. From MS. C, however, it is evident that this is the region of al-Baṭā'iḥ: it reads, 'Its dependency (*i.e.*, of Wāsiṭ) is al-Baṭā'iḥ, a wonderful region where there are several towns, the largest of which is called aṣ-Ṣalīq.' Ibn Serapion gives a description of these swamps. (Guy Le Strange, p. 297).

[4] Aṣ-Ṣalīq was situated between Wāsiṭ and Baghdād. From A.H. 338 to 369 aṣ-Ṣalīq was the residence of an independent ruler, 'Imrān ibn Shāhīn, who from the difficult nature of the country could not be subdued by the Caliph's troops. In A.H. 373 another family ruled here, the chief of the

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Baghdād[1] is the great metropolis of Islām, wherein is the City of Peace [Madīnatu-s-Salām.[2]] Some excellent qualities distinguish the inhabitants of this great city, who are elegant of speech, men of genius, of graceful manners and refined scholarship. The city has a very fine climate and contains in itself everything that is good and beautiful; all men of skill come from thence; every refinement finds a home there; every heart is drawn to it; every battle is fought for it, and every blow is struck in defence of it. It is too well-known to need description, and is above praise and far surpasses any picture we can draw of it. The first founder of the place was Abu-l-'Abbās as-Saffāḥ;[3] and afterwards al-Manṣūr built in it the City of Peace, and the Caliphs who succeeded him added thereto. When he intended to build the

generals of 'Imrān, al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Alī al-Ḥājib, having seized upon the government. He was succeeded in A.H. 376 by his nephew Muhadhdhabu-d-Daulah Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Naṣr. Ibnu-l-Athīr mentions aṣ-Ṣalīq, but usually refers to it as al-Baṭīḥah. He testifies to the good government of the rulers (IX. pp. 22 and 35).

[1] For a full account of this city and its ancient topography the reader is referred to al-Ya'qūbī, p. 233 *et seq.* Baghdād is also called Baghdādh and Baghdān. No satisfactory explanation of the name has been given, but it seems probable that the true meaning of Baghdād is "founded by God." (Géo. d'Aboulf., II. 67 note 1). Originally the name of a small village in the Bādūrayā district, Baghdād was applied by extension to the whole of the great capital on both banks of the river. The western quarter of Baghdād is also known by the name of az-Zaurā', probably from the bend in the course of the Tigris here. It is also called Madīnatu-l-Manṣūr and Dāru-s-Salām. *Al-Fakhrī*, p. 192. *Aboulf.*, II. 66 and 76.

[2] The original city founded by al-Manṣūr on the western side of the Tigris. It was of a circular shape, surrounded by a double wall and ditch and had a circumference of about five miles. The City, however, soon stretched beyond its original limits and not long after completely lost its separate existence. Even at an early date the chief residence of the Caliphs was outside the walls of the city, although on the same side of the river. On the return of the court from Sāmarrā to Baghdād, the seat of Government was finally removed to the eastern quarter, and the city of al-Manṣūr was suffered to go to ruin.

[3] Our author's statement that Baghdād was founded by Abu-l-'Abbās as-Saffāḥ is not correct. He is evidently drawing on al-Ya'qūbī; and as we have had occasion to remark, al-Muqaddasī is apt to misrepresent his authorities. What al-Ya'qūbī states is simply this that the 'Abbāsides, and by implication as-Saffāḥ the first of their line, were the first to recognize the superiority of *al-'Irāq* over every other province of the empire and so resolved to establish their Government in it. Abu-l-'Abbās as-Saffāḥ took up his

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City of Peace, al-Manṣūr made enquiries with regard to the state of its winter and its summer, and the season of rains, and about mosquitoes, and the nature of the climate. He ordered certain men to live here throughout the year till they knew every particular. He then sought the opinion of the judicious among its inhabitants, who thus spoke to him, "We judge it advisable for thee to settle in the midst of four districts, on the east Būq and Kalwādhā, and on the west Qaṭrabbul and Bādūrayā.[1] In this way thou shalt always be surrounded by palm trees and be near water, so that if one district suffers from drought, or fails to yield
120. its harvests in due time, there will be relief in another; while, being on the banks of aṣ-Ṣarāt, provisions will reach thee in the boats which ply on the Euphrates. The caravans from Egypt and Syria will come by way of the desert, and all kinds of goods will reach thee from China on the sea, and from the country of the Greeks [Asia Minor] and from al-Mauṣil by the Tigris. Thus surrounded by rivers, the enemy cannot approach thee except in a ship or over a bridge, by way of the Tigris or the Euphrates." He thereupon built the city in four cantons, the City of Peace, Bādūrayā, ar-Ruṣāfah[2], and the quarter where the palace of the Caliph stands at the present day.[3] It formerly

residence in the first instance in al-Kūfah, which he left for al-Hāshimiyyah. The latter town was abandoned in its turn for the city of al-Anbār on the Euphrates where he lived till his death. His successor al-Manṣūr after staying for some years at al-Hāshimiyyah began the building of Baghdād, which became henceforth the seat of Caliphate.

[1] The Nahr-Būq District was on the eastern bank of the Tigris and up stream, thus occupying the north-east of Baghdād. Kalwādhā was on the same bank, but down stream, being on the south-east. Qaṭrabbul was on the western bank and up stream and Bādūrayā on the same bank, but down stream.

[2] The eastern quarter of Baghdād was originally called 'Askaru-l-Mahdī, "the Camp of al-Mahdī," from al-Mahdī having pitched his camp here on his return from Khurāsān in A. H. 151. He afterwards built a palace near this camp, which he called ar-Ruṣāfah, "the cause-way," and this name spread to the town which soon grew around the place. Al-Mahdī finished the building of ar-Ruṣāfah and its great mosque in A. H. 159, the second year of his reign. Yāqūt, II. 783. Guy Le Strange, p. 281.

[3] The quarter of Nahru-l-Mu'allā, the largest in eastern Baghdād, in which the palaces of the later Caliphs stood. Abu-l-Fidā', II. 76. Guy Le Strange, p. 283. The early 'Abbāside Caliphs had their residence in Qaṣru-l-Khuld, "the Palace of Perpetuity," on the western bank of the Tigris. On the

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was the best of all the possessions of the Muslims, and a most splendid city, far above our description of it, but after that the power of the Caliphs declined, it fell from its former state, and its population dwindled. The City of Peace itself is now in ruins, its Mosque alone is frequented on Fridays, while in the interval the whole place is deserted. The best inhabited parts of Baghdād are Qaṭī'atu-r-Rabī'[1], and al-Karkh[2] on the western side, and in the eastern quarter Bābu-ṭ-Ṭāq[3], and the neighbourhood of the palace of the Prince.[4] Buildings and markets are more numerous in the western quarter. The bridge is near the Bābu-ṭ-Ṭāq, and hard by the (western) side of it stands a Hospital founded by 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah.[5] In each of the districts we have mentioned there is a chief mosque;

return of the Caliphs from Sāmarrā, they occupied palaces in the eastern quarter, the principal palace being known as at-Tāj (Palace of the Crown). It stood south of the Ruṣāfah quarter on the Nahr Mūsā canal. Yāqūt, I. 806.

[1] Qaṭī'atu-r-Rabī', "the Fief of ar-Rabī'," freedman and minister of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. It was the exclusive quarter of the merchants of Khurāsān who traded in linen and other fabrics imported from that country. Between Qaṭī'atu-r-Rabī' and the river Tigris on the east lay the market-suburb of al-Karkh, which was one *farsakh* across. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 245. See also the sketch plan of Baghdād in Guy Le Strange's Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād. In the eastern quarter of Baghdād there also was a place known as Qaṭī'atu-r-Rabī', where ar-Rabī' and his son al-Faḍhl had their palaces. Hard by the western Qaṭī'atu-r-Rabī' flowed a canal derived from the Nahr Karkhāyā and along which stood the houses of merchants. It was called Nahru-d-Dajāj, "the Fowls' Canal," as the poulterers had their market here.

[2] Al-Karkh, the great market which extended from the palace known as Qaṣr Waḍhḍhāḥ to the market called Sūqu-th-Thalāthā', "the Tuesday market," a length of close upon two *farsakhs*. In width it stretched from Qaṭī'atu-r-Rabī' to the Tigris, nearly one *farsakh*. Here were separate streets and rows for every class of merchants and traders and every kind of merchandize. Al-Ya'qūbī, p. 246.

[3] Bābu-ṭ-Ṭāq, a large quarter of eastern Baghdād between ar-Ruṣāfah and Nahru-l-Mu'allā, known as Ṭāq Asmā', "the Arch of Asmā'" a daughter of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. This was a great arch over the gate of her palace which stood here. Yāqūt, III. 489.

[4] The Palace of the Caliphs, which has already been mentioned. The quarter was known as Nahru-l-Mu'allā, after al-Mu'allā ibn Ṭarīf, freedman of al-Mahdī and one of the chief generals of ar-Rashīd. Yāqūt, IV. 845.

[5] This Hospital was built by 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah in A. H. 371 (981) near the site of the Qaṣru-l-Khuld in western Baghdād. It was famous as the 'Aḍhudī Hospital.

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but the town is daily going from bad to worse, and I fear it will one day become like Sāmarrā, not to mention the extent of corruption, the ignorance of the people, the laxity of morals, and the oppression of the government. Abū 'Uthmān an-Nahdī[1] relates the following anecdote;[2]—I was one day in company of Jarīr ibn 'Abdu-llah,[3] when he asked "What is this river called." Those present said, "The Tigris." "And what this other stream?" he said. They answered, "Dujail."[4] "And this river?" "Ṣarāt."[5]

[1] Abū 'Uthmān an-Nahdī, a contemporary of the Prophet, whom he did not meet however. He died during the Caliphate of 'Umar ibn 'Abdu-l-'Azīz (A. H. 99–101), having lived upwards of 130 years. He was present at the victories of al-Qādisiyyah, Jalūlā', Tustar, Nahāwand, al-Yarmūk and Ādharbaijān. Ibn Qutaibah, *Kitābu-l-Ma'ārif*.

[2] The line of authorities for this tradition is as follows: Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī, at Jurjān; Ibn Nājiyah; Ibrāhīm at-Tarjumānī; Saif ibn Muḥammad; 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal; Abū 'Uthmān an-Nahdī.

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ismā'īlī of Jurjān was a Shāfi'ite doctor, well versed in Tradition and other branches of knowledge. He died in A. H. 371. *Ibnu-l-Athīr*, IX. 12.—Ibn Nājiyah, a traditionist (Yāqūt, IV. 477).—'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, Abū 'Abdi-llāh 'Āṣim ibn Sulaimān at-Tamīmī, had been overseer of weights and measures in al-Kūfah; appointed afterwards Qāḍhī of al-Madā'in, where he died in A. H. 141 or 142. He was a traditionist. *Kitābu-l-Ma'ārif* of Ibn Qutaibah.

[3] Jarīr ibn 'Abdu-llah al-Bajalī, one of the Companions, who embraced Islam in the tenth year of the Hijrah. He settled at al-Kūfah, but on the breaking out of hostilities between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah he retired to al-Jazīrah [Mesopotamia], where he died in A. H. 51, at the town of Qarqīsiyā [the ancient *Circesium*], according to an-Nawawī; or in A. H. 54 at ash-Sharāt, a district of Damascus, according to Ibn Qutaibah. His life will be found at p. 190 of an-Nawawī's Biographical Dictionary.

[4] Dujail, or the Little Tigris, a canal flowing from the Tigris on its western bank, opposite the town of al-Qādisiyyah and below Sāmarrā, and which after irrigating a large district of the Sawād falls into the Tigris above Baghdād. The chief place in the Dujail District is Maskin, near which a battle took place in A. H. 71 between Muṣ'ab ibnu-z-Zubair and 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān, in which Muṣ'ab was slain. This district lies immediately to the north of Qaṭrabbul. Yāqūt, II. 555; Guy Le Strange, pp. 68 and 70. Dujail is also the name of the Pasitigris (the present *Kārūn*) which word also means "the little Tigris."

[5] Aṣ-Ṣarāt, one of the canals of Western Baghdād, derived from Nahr 'Isā, a little above the pleasant village of al-Muḥawwal which lies at a distance of one *farsakh* from Baghdād. This canal flows through the district of Bādūrayā and entering Baghdād falls into the Tigris just below the Qaṣru-l-Khuld. The Ṣarāt Canal dates back to Sassanian times. Guy Le Strange, p. 285.

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"And this grove of palm trees, what is it called?" "Qaṭrabbul," was the answer. Thereupon he mounted his horse and rode away in haste saying, 'I once heard the Apostle of God say:—"A city shall be built between the Tigris, Dujail, Qaṭrabbul and aṣ-Ṣarāt, to which the treasures of the earth shall be brought as tribute, and for whose proud inhabitants the earth shall be rent asunder, and they shall sink therein more speedily than sinks an iron peg in soft ground." The canals flowing from the Euphrates[1] fall into the Tigris south of the city, but in front of it and to the north of it the Tigris flows alone. In these branches of the Euphrates boats sail up to the city of al-Kūfah, and in the Tigris as far as al-Mauṣil. Ash-Shimshāṭī[2] writes in his History that when al-Manṣūr 121.
resolved on the building of the City of Peace, he summoned the greatest and most famous of those learned in the law and possessing equity and honesty and a knowledge of engineering. Among these were Abū Ḥanīfah an-Na'mān ibn Thābit and al-Ḥajjāj ibn Arṭāt.[3] He also had the artificers and workmen collected from Syria, al-Mauṣil, al-Jabal (Persian 'Irāq) and the rest of his provinces; and he ordered the lines of the city to be marked and the foundations dug in the year 145, and it was finished in the year 149. He caused the thickness of the wall at the base to be fifty cubits,[4] and provided the city with eight gates, four small inner gates, and four large outer. These were the Baṣrah Gate, the Syria Gate, the Khurāsān Gate and the Kūfah Gate.[5]

[1] These canals will be described later on. They are beside aṣ-Ṣarāt, the Nahr 'Isā, Nahr Ṣarṣar and Nahru-l-Malik.

[2] Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ash-Shimshāṭī, who flourished in the reign of Saifu-d-Daulah ibn Ḥamdān, in the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah. He was a poet and author of some literary works. Yāqūt, III. 320.

[3] Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Arṭāt an-Nakha'ī, a native of al-Kūfah and the first 'Abbāside Qāḍhī of al-Baṣrah. He died in A. H. 150 at ar-Raiy, where he had gone in company of al-Mahdī, to whom he had been attached by his father al-Manṣūr. Ibn Khallikān, Life No. 150. Nawawī, p. 198.

[4] Its thickness was 50 cubits at the base, tapering to 20 cubits at the summit. Al-Ya'qūbī gives other dimensions, (p. 239).

[5] The Baṣrah Gate S. E., the Kūfah Gate S. W., the Syrian Gate N.W., and the Khurāsān Gate N. E. Over each of the gates there were two massive iron doors which could only be opened and closed by a number of men and which were so high that the horseman with his standard and the spearsman with his lance could enter through without lowering the standard or bending the spear (al-Ya'qūbī, p. 238).

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He placed the great mosque and the palace in the centre. The *qiblah*[1] of the great mosque of ar-Ruṣāfah is more correct than that of this mosque. I have found it stated in a book in one of the Royal libraries that al-Manṣūr incurred on the building of the City of Peace an outlay of four million and eight hundred and thirty-three of dirhams,[2] for the wages of an overseer (*ustādh*) was a *qīrāṭ*, and that of a common labourer two *ḥabbah*.[3] The town of an-Nahrawān[4] is situated on both banks (of the canal of the same name). The quarter on the east bank is the better stocked with buildings and inhabitants. The town is spacious and in a flourishing condition. The two quarters are connected by a bridge. The mosque is in the eastern quarter; and on this bank of the canal also the pilgrims put up on their way.[5] Ad-Daskarah[6] is a small town having a single long market, at the bottom of which stands the mosque, a building deficient in light

[1] The niche in the *centre* of the sanctuary of a mosque showing the direction of Makkah. From al-Fakhrī (p. 192) it appears that the worshipper in the great mosque of this city had to turn a little to the left in order to be exactly in the direction of Makkah. Some think this is the reason why western Baghdād was called az-Zaurā'. Zaurā' (زوراء) = deviating.

[2] So also al-Fakhrī (p. 192); Yāqūt has 4,883,000.

[3] The *qīrāṭ* is the 16th of a dirham; it is equal to the weight of four grains of wheat or about three English grains. The grain (*ḥabbah*) here is also a grain of wheat, not of barley; it is about three-quarters of an English grain.

[4] The Nahrawān canal irrigated a large country on the eastern bank of the Tigris from Baghdād to about a hundred miles south-east of it. An-Nahrawān was a continuation of the great Qāṭūl canal which had its head more than a hundred miles north of Baghdād. It was originally dug by the Sassanian kings. The site of the town, which lay four *farsakhs* from Baghdād, is now marked by the town called Sifwa. Guy Le Strange, pp. 267 and 269.

[5] *Cf.* Ibn Rustah, p. 163. There is a mosque in the western quarter of the town also, as well as markets and water-wheels for irrigation. The bridge of boats connecting the two quarters is called Jisru-n-Nahrawān. An-Nahrawān is believed to have been founded by Hormuz or Hormisdas I. (A.D. 274).

[6] This is the town known also as Daskaratu-l-Malik, or "the King's Village," from the circumstance of Hormuz I. having chiefly resided here. It is at 16 *farsakhs* from Baghdād, on the road to Khurāsān (Ibn Rustah, p. 163). According to Yāqūt (II. 575) ad-Daskarah is also the name of a large village in the Nahru-l-Malik District, west of Baghdād. There is another village opposite Jabbul bearing the name of ad-Daskarah.

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and air and flanked with arched galleries. Jalūlā[1] stands in the midst of trees; it is not well fortified.[2] These towns, with Khāniqīn,[3] are on the Ḥulwān road; they do not possess any beauty, nor are they worthy of Baghdād. Ṣarṣar[4] too is only like a village of Palestine; the canal flows on one side of it. Nahru-l-Malik[5] and aṣ-Ṣarāt[6] are likewise mere villages. Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah,[7] on the other hand, is a large town having good

[1] The station next to ad-Daskarah on the Baghdād-Khurāsān road, at 7 *farsakhs* from this place. The distance from it to Khāniqīn, the next station, is also 7 *farsakhs*. It is situated on a great river called by the same name [the modern Diyāla], which flows as far down as Ba'qūbā. A great battle was fought near Jalūlā between the Arabs and Persians towards the end of A.H. 16, in which the latter were defeated. At the time of the conquest Jalūlā had a fortress which was held to be impregnable. There is another town called by the name of Jalūlā, which is situated in the province of Africa (Ifrīqiyyah), at 24 miles from the city of al-Qairawān. Yāqūt, II. 107.

[2] In place of ﻗﻮﻳﺔ of the text, MS. C reads ﻗﻮﻯ 'is not *beautiful*.'

[3] A town of the *Sawād*, on the road from Baghdād to Hamadhān. It is six *farsakhs* distant from Qaṣr Shīrīn, the next station to it towards the mountains [al Jibāl]. Qaṣr Shīrīn is another five or six *farsakhs* distant from Ḥulwān, which marks the extreme limit of al-'Irāq. At Khāniqīn there is a deep *Wādī* spanned by a great bridge built on arches over which the road passes. There were twenty-four arches in this bridge, each about 20 cubits in width. Yāqūt, II. 393. Ibn Rustah, p. 124.

[4] According to Yāqūt (III. 381) and Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 75), there are two villages in the *Sawād* of Baghdād called by the name of Ṣarṣar. One of these, which is known as Upper Ṣarṣar [Ṣarṣaru-l-'Ulyā], is situated on the Nahr 'Isā Canal. The other, called Lower Ṣarṣar [Ṣarṣaru-s-Suflā], lies on the bank of the Ṣarṣar Canal. The latter place, the Ṣarṣar of the text, was on the right of the great pilgrim route from Baghdād to al-Kūfah near the bridge of boats which crossed the canal and over which the highway passed. The distance from Baghdād to Ṣarṣar was about two *farsakhs* or ten miles. The town was formerly called Qaṣru-d-Dair or Ṣarṣaru-d-Dair.

[5] On the canal of the same name, about two *farsakhs* or seven miles below Ṣarṣar. It also was on the Baghdād-Kūfah high road, which crossed the canal on a bridge of boats hard by the town. Abu-l-Fidā', II. 79. Guy Le Strange, p. 75.

[6] This village must have stood on the Great Ṣarāt Canal, which corresponds to the present Shaṭṭu-n-Nīl. The principal town on this canal was an-Nīl. The Ṣarāt which flows into the Tigris near Baghdād cannot evidently be associated with the village of Ṣarāt, which is apparently mentioned by no other writer.

[7] Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah lay on the Baghdād-Kūfah high road, two miles above the bridge of boats over the Sūrā Canal. It took its name from the Castle

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markets. Water reaches the town from the Euphrates. Weavers and Jews are in great numbers here; and the mosque stands alongside the market-place. Bābil[1] is small and at a distance from the road. The highway passes over a bridge in its neighbourhood. The remaining towns in this part of the country are all of the same description; such as, an-Nīl,[2] 'Abdas[3] and Kūthā. The native town of Abraham is Kūthā Rabbā,[4] where there are
122. mounds of earth which are supposed to be the ashes of the fire of Nimrod; while, hard by (Kūthā of) the road a pile rises up like a tower,[5] and forms the subject of a popular tradition. In the direction of Wāsiṭ, there is not along the banks of the Tigris a more splendid town than Dairu-l-'Āqūl.[6] It is large, flourishing and populous; with its great mosque far away from the market-place. Its markets extend in branches and are finely-built. The town resembles on the whole a town of Palestine. Next to this

or palace built here by Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubairah, governor of al-'Irāq under Marwān II., the last Caliph of the House of Umayyah. M. de Goeje identifies the ruins of Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah with those now called Tubayba (Guy Le Strange, p. 258). Karbalā', the place of martyrdom of al-Ḥusain, grandson of Muḥammad, lies due west of Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah, in the middle of the desert. Abu-l-Fidā', II. 78.

[1] The ancient Babylon.

[2] An-Nīl was founded by al-Ḥajjāj. Its ruins still exist on what is now called Shaṭṭu-n-Nīl. According to Yāqūt the canal on which the city stood was so called after the Nile of Egypt, which it was supposed to resemble. Guy Le Strange, p. 261. The canal was likewise dug by al-Ḥajjāj.

[3] Or 'Abdasī, one of the celebrated hamlets of the province of Kaskar. According to Qudāmah, p. 226, there were 8 stages between 'Abdas and al-Madhār and 3 between the latter place and al-Baṣrah.

[4] *Rabbā* is Syriac for "great," so that Kūthā Rabbā means "Kūthā the Great," in distinction from another Kūthā, which from its situation apparently on the highway is called Kūtha-ṭ-Ṭarīq, or "Kūthā of the road." At Kūthā Rabbā, the ancient Cuthah, Abraham was born. There also it was that he was thrown into the fire by order of Nimrod, from which however he was preserved by Gabriel. Qur'ān, xxi. 69. The distance from Baghdād to the Kūthā bridge on the canal of the same name is 21 miles.

[5] The distance between Kūthā and Babylon is too great to allow of this pile being identified with any of the great mounds at the latter place. What first strikes the reader is that this refers to the Tower of Babel of the Bible.

[6] Dairu-l-'Āqūl stood on the east bank of the Tigris, at a distance of 15 *farsakhs* from Baghdād, between al-Madā'in and Jarjarāyā. The name signifies "the Convent of the (river) Loop." It is still marked on the map. Guy Le Strange, p. 41.

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in point of size is Jabbul,[1] which is flourishing and populous. The mosque, a pretty building, stands alongside the market-place. Next to this is an-Nu'māniyyah,[2] a small town having its mosque in the market. Next is Jarjarāyā,[3] which was formerly a great town but has now declined, and its buildings have become scattered. The mosque, which is in good condition, stands near the river bank. A canal flows round part of the town. The towns we have here mentioned lie on the western[4] side of the Tigris. All the remaining towns are small of size. In that part of the country which lies towards Sāmarrā lies the town of 'Ukbarā,[5] a large, flourishing place, abounding in fruits, and producing excellent grapes; it is altogether a splendid town. As for al-Madā'in,[6] it is in the direction of Wāsiṭ; a flourishing town built of brick, with its mosque in the market-place. Eastwards lies the village of Asbānabr, where the tomb of Salmān[7] is found. There also is the Palace of the Chosroes.[8] Now, these are the towns of Baghdād; in Khurāsān, there are many villages which are larger than most of these towns.

Sāmarrā was formerly a great city and the residence of the

[1] On the east bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ. It is apparently the place now called Jambil. Guy Le Strange, p. 43.

[2] Near the western bank of the Tigris, halfway between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ. It was the chief town of the Upper Zāb district. Aboulf., II. 77 and note 7. Guy Le Strange, p. 43.

[3] On the east bank of the river, capital of the Lower Nahrawān district. It still exists. Guy Le Strange, p. 42.

[4] Of Dairu-l-'Āqūl, Jabbul, an-Nu'māniyyah and Jarjarāyā, only an-Nu'māniyyah is on the western side of the Tigris. The other three are all on the east bank of the river.

[5] A town of the Dujail District, pleasantly situated in the midst of gardens. It formerly stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris, but the bed of the river having changed eastwards its ruins now lie at some distance to the west of the Tigris. *See* also Guy Le Strange, p. 39.

[6] *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 40. Al-Madā'in, capital of Persia, was captured A.H. 16 (A.D. 637).

[7] Salmān al-Fārisī, or the Persian, a contemporary of Muḥammad and the first Persian to embrace Islamism. It was by his advice that Muḥammad had the fosse dug at the battle of al-Khandaq. He died at al-Madā'in in A.H. 36, having lived, it is said, 250 years.

[8] The ruins popularly called *Ṭāq Kisrā*, or the Arch of Chosroes, supposed to be remains of the palace of one of the Sassanide princes. This noble arch lies fifteen miles below the modern Baghdād.

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Caliphs.[1] It was founded by al-Mu'taṣim,[2] and after him al-Mutawakkil extended its limits so that it measured a whole day's journey. It was a city of singular beauty; indeed the town was called *Surūru-man-ra'ā*,[3] "the Delight of the Beholder," which name was afterwards contracted into Surmara.[4] This city has a large mosque[5] which used to be preferred to the Great Mosque of Damascus. It had its walls coated with enamel, and pillars of white marble were erected inside of it, while the ground was paved with the same material. A lofty minaret is attached to this mosque, which is also in other respects highly-finished. Sāmarrā, once so great, has now gone to ruin; and the traveller at the present day walks for two or three miles without coming upon any inhabited place. The town occupies the east bank of the river, while on the western bank there are extensive gardens. Al-Mu'taṣim also built near the town a square building resembling the Ka'bah, and surrounded it with a walk for circumambulation. He also had places built in the fashion of Minā and 'Arafāt, imposing thereby on certain Amīrs[6] in his service when they once
123. asked to go to the pilgrimage, for fear that they would part with him. On the town falling to ruin and sinking to the condition we have described, its name changed to *Sā'a-man-ra'a*, "whoever

[1] Eight of the Caliphs ruled at this, the second great capital of the 'Abbāsides. They were: al-Mu'taṣim, its founder; al-Wāthiq; al-Mutawakkil; al-Muntaṣir; al-Musta'īn; al-Mu'tazz; al-Muhtadī and al-Mu'tamid. It continued the seat of Government for about fifty-six years only, namely from A.H. 221, when al-Mu'taṣim removed to it to the year 279 (A.D. 836–892).

[2] Sāmarrā was built on the site of an old city called Sāmarrā or rather Sāmīrā. It was commenced by Harūnu-r-Rashīd before he settled at Raqqah. The place having fallen to ruin in the meantime, it was rebuilt by al-Mu'taṣim who made it the seat of his court and changed its name to Surra-man-ra'a, 'whoever saw it rejoiced,' from the beauty of its situation. Cf. *The Caliphate*, p. 509, note 2, and see *Aboulf.*, II. 75, note 2.

[3] The name of this city is generally given as Surra-man-ra'a. Other forms of the name are: Sāmarrā', Sāmarrā, Surra-man-rā'a, Surra-man-ra and Surrā'. *See* Yāqūt, III. 14.

[4] For Surmara of the text Yāqūt, in quoting this passage from al-Muqaddasī, writes Surra-man-ra'a, as though this name were a contraction from the original Surūru-man-ra'a.

[5] This was the mosque founded by al-Mutawakkil and on which he spent large sums of money. It is described by Yāqūt in his account of the city.

[6] These Amīrs were of course of the Turkish generals on whom he leaned and from whose ascendency the decline of the Caliphate begins.

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saw it, grieved," which being abbreviated became Sāmarrā.[1] Al-Karkh,[2] which is a town adjoining it, in the direction of al-Mauṣil, is in a more flourishing condition. I once heard al-Qāḍhī Abu-l-Ḥusain al-Qazwīnī say that Baghdād has not produced a single jurist other than Abū Mūsā aḍh-Ḍharīr, and on my asking him 'And what about Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī?'[3] he said, 'He was not from Karkh, the suburb of Baghdād, but from Karkh which is near Sāmarrā. Al-Anbār[4] is a large city in which al-Manṣūr first resided,[5] and where his palace still exists. It has now greatly diminished. Hīt[6] is large and surrounded by a wall. It lies on the Euphrates, hard by the desert. Takrīt[7] or Tikrīt is also a large town. It is the chief place for sesame and the home of workers in wool. The Christians have here a convent[8] to

[1] This, however, is the old name of the city as already stated.

[2] Karkh of Sāmarrā was formerly known as Karkh-Fairūz. It was older than Sāmarrā, and when this city had gone to ruin it continued in a flourishing condition and was still so at the time Yāqūt wrote his dictionary. Al-Karkh is built on elevated ground, north of Sāmarrā. It is said to be the same as Karkh-Bājaddā. Yāqūt, IV. 256.

[3] Ash-Shaikh Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Ubaidu-l-lah ibnu-l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī, chief of the Ḥanafite doctors of 'Irāq in his time and a man of great learning and piety. Died in A.H. 340 in his eightieth year.

[4] On the left bank of the Euphrates, at 10 *farsakhs* to the west of Baghdād. According to Yāqūt (I. 367) the Persian name of this city was Fīrūz Sābūr (*See* Meynard's *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 430). It was captured in A.H. 12 by Khālid ibnu-l-Walīd. *See* also Guy Le Strange, p. 52.

[5] Before al-Manṣūr, as-Saffāḥ had taken up his residence at al-Anbār, which he rebuilt and where he stayed till his death. Al-Manṣūr remained at al-Anbār for a short space of time only, when he removed to al-Hāshimiyyah and afterwards to Baghdād.

[6] Hīt and 'Ānah formed part of the district of al-Anbār till the reign of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, who detached them and annexed them to the government of al-Jazīrah (*Dict. de la Perse*, 430). Hīt still exists. It is situated above al-Anbār, at a distance of 21 *farsakhs* from it. The name is derived by some Assyriologists from the Assyrian *iddu* "bitumen." There are still bitumen springs in the neighbourhood of this place. *Aboulf.*, II. 72, note 1.

[7] On the western bank of the Tigris, about 90 miles above Baghdād. To the south-east of Takrīt flowed the canal called al-Isḥāqī, which was dug in the reign of al-Mutawakkil by Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm, (*Aboulf.*, II. 64). From this canal commences the Sawād or plain of al-Irāq.

[8] This is apparently the Convent of St. John, *Dair Mar Yoḥanna*, described in Yāqūt, II. 701.

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which pilgrimages are made. 'Alth [1] is a large town in front of which flows a canal connected with the Tigris. It has wells of fresh water which is close to the surface. The town is populous and contains a great number of persons of distinction. As-Sinn [2] is large; it is situated on the Tigris, and has the river Zāb [3] to the east of it. Its mosque is in the midst of the markets. The buildings are of stone. The mountains are within a short distance of the town, which is situated on the borders of Aqūr. The towns of the Sāmarrā district are larger and better than the towns of Baghdād.

Ḥulwān [4] is a small capital. It is both a plain and a hill city, surrounded on all sides by gardens and grape-vines and fig trees, and situated close to the mountains. It has a long market and an ancient fortress, as well as a small stream of water.[5] It also has a *quhandiz*,[6] in the interior of which stands the mosque. The town is approached from eight different roads—the road of Khurāsān, the road of al-Bāqāt, the road of al-Muṣallā, the road of the

[1] *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 37.

[2] *See* also Guy Le Strange, p. 35 and *Aboulf.*, II. 63. A town on the Tigris above Takrīt; it is also known as Sinn-Bārimmā, Yāqūt, III. 169.

[3] The Lesser Zāb, called az-Zābu-l-Asfal or "the lower Zāb."

[4] Ḥulwān, in the extreme north-east of al-'Irāq, at the foot of the mountain range of Persia. It was 5 *farsakhs* distant from Qaṣr Shīrīn and 41 from Baghdād. The town does not exist at the present day, but the name is preserved in that of the river of *Holwan*. It is supposed to have been founded by Qubād, or Cobades, of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, who reigned from A.D. 488 to 498, and again from 501 or 502 till 531. In the days of its prosperity Ḥulwān was the sixth city in al-'Irāq and was celebrated for its pomegranates which were without a like in the whole world and also for its fig which from its excellence acquired the name of *Shāh anjīr*, "the king of figs." There were sulphur springs in the neighbourhood of Ḥulwān, which possessed healing properties for a variety of ailments. Yāqūt describes the climate of Ḥulwān as noxious and its water as bad. II. 317.

[5] The *Holwan* river, an affluent of the *Diyāla* which in this part of its course is known as the *Shirwān* river.

[6] According to Yāqūt (IV. 210) *Quhandiz* was primarily applied to a fortress situated in the centre of a large city, specially in Khurāsān and Transoxiana. It was afterwards applied to all town fortresses, but the name does not apply to an isolated fortress not situated in a city of some importance. The word is composed of two Persian words *kuhan* 'old' and *diz* 'fortress.'

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Jews, the road of Baghdād, the road of Barqīṭ, the road of the Jewess, and the road of Mājakān. Outside the town the Jews have a temple which they hold in great veneration. It is a building of gypsum and stone. The city of Baitu-l-Maqdis [Jerusalem] is a larger and finer town than Ḥulwān; it is also more flourishing and beautiful and contains more doctors and learned men than it does. The towns of this district are all small and ruinous, and not worthy of mention.

As for the river Tigris, it is feminine in the quality of its water, which is sweet and beneficial to jurists; hence Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ was in the habit of having his water brought to him from a place above the canal of aṣ-Ṣarāt, before the waters of the Euphrates were united with it. The river in question issues from Aqūr, in which province we shall mention its origin. In its course through al-'Irāq it is joined by several rivers,[1] while in the district of Baghdād four canals—aṣ-Ṣarāt, Nahr 'Īsā, Nahr Ṣarṣar and Nahru-l-Malik[2]—flow down into it from the Euphrates, and from the east it also receives the waters of the Nahrawā- 124.

[1] Taking the town of as-Sinn as marking the farthest limits of al-'Irāq to the north, the Tigris receives from near this point to its mouth the following rivers: the Lesser Zāb, which rises in the mountains of Armenia and flows into the Tigris a little to the north of as-Sinn, not many miles below Nineveh; ath-Tharthār, which flowed out from the *Hirmās* and ran into the Tigris below Takrīt (G. Le S., p. 60); and the modern *Diyāla*. The modern Kārūn also unites with the Tigris by means of an artificial canal called the *Haffar*, near *Mohammerah*. A sketch of the course of the Tigris as it flows through this province will be found in Abu-l-Fidā' (I. 69).

[2] The canal of aṣ-Ṣarāt does not come directly from the Euphrates, but branches off from the Nahr 'Īsā canal, a little above the village of al-Muḥawwal. It has already been described. This was called the Great Ṣarāt. A canal was taken from it, called Khandaq (*Trench of*) Ṭāhir (G. Le. S., p. 285), from which was taken another canal called the Little Ṣarāt which flowed into the Great Ṣarāt.

The Nahr 'Īsā is the first of the four great canals which connected the Tigris with the Euphrates. It begins at the village of Dimimmā below al-Anbār, and after passing through extensive districts reaches al-Muḥawwal, where a large number of small canals branch off from it in the direction of Baghdād. From al-Muḥawwal it passes to al-Yāsiriyyah, a village about two miles from Baghdād, and then through the district of Bādūrayā and lastly flows into the Tigris below the Palace of 'Īsā ibn Mūsā. *See* G. Le S., p. 68, and also sketch plan of Baghdād in the same work. The canal was named after 'Īsā ibn 'Alī, uncle of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, who re-dug this canal. The upper portion of this canal was originally called ad-Daqīl.

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nāt,[1] below Baghdād. After passing Wāsiṭ the river spreads over the plain in marshes and its navigation becomes very difficult to the limits of al-Baṣrah. Boats are ever sailing up and down the river, and great skill is shown in the handling of them. At Baghdād itself the people pass from place to place, and from bank to bank in these boats, and their noise and hubbub is unceasing; indeed, two-thirds of the charm of Baghdād lies in this river. The Euphrates, on the other hand, is a masculine river, and possesses a certain amount of hardness. It has its origin in the country of ar-Rūm,[2] and flows in a curve round part of this province; it then arrives at al-Kūfah, after having divided into two branches. After this, it flows down to west of Wāsiṭ, where it loses itself in a great swamp[3] surrounded by flourishing villages, without again emerging from it. The river is navigable for boats from

Nahr Ṣarṣar begins three *farsakhs* below the Nahr 'Isā, and after passing through part of the district of Bādūrayā flows into the Tigris between Baghdād and al-Madā'in, four *farsakhs* above the latter place (*Ibn Serapion*, p. 69).

Nahru-l-Malik, or the Royal canal, is the Nahr-Malka of classical writers. It left the Euphrates five *farsakhs* below the Nahr Ṣarṣar and flowed into the Tigris three *farsakhs* below al-Madā'in.

Ibn Serapion and Abu-l-Fidā' do not mention Nahru-ṣ-Ṣarāt as one of the four principal canals connecting these two rivers, but they mention Nahr Kūthā as the fourth of these canals. It began three *farsakhs* below Nahru-l-Malik, and entered the Tigris ten *farsakhs* below al-Madā'in. It was called from the city of Kūthā which stood on its banks.

[1] An-Nahrawānāt. There were three canals of the name of an-Nahrawān, which were all situated in the district to the east of the Tigris between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ. They were known as the Upper, Middle and Lower Nahrawān.

[2] The Euphrates has its sources in the mountains of Armenia. Its two branches unite at *Kebban Ma'den*; of these two great sources the Western is now called *Karā Sū* and the Eastern *Murād-chāï*. The course of the Euphrates is traced in Smith's *Dictionary of G. and R. Geography*, p. 876*b*. As already stated the Lower Euphrates divides into two streams. The western passed to the city of al-Kūfah and was formerly the main-stream of the river; it corresponds with the channel now known as Nahr Hindiyyah. The eastern branch, the Nahr Sūrā of al-Muqaddasī and others, is the present main-stream of the Euphrates. *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 53.

[3] The Euphrates was supposed to lose itself in the marshes of *Lamlūm*, but the river eventually extricates itself from them and unites with the Tigris at *Qurnah*. *See* Smith's *Dictionary*, p. 877*a*.

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(as high up as) ar-Raqqah.[1] It is to be noted that al-'Irāq is not a land of plenty, but it rose in importance and prosperity by means of these two rivers and the streams flowing into them, and also by the China sea, which is contiguous to it. To Baghdād belongs alone that excellence of climate which is not seen anywhere else; of al-Baṣrah too one may speak with unbounded praise in respect of her waters and her tanks and her tides. Ashras[2] relates "I once asked Ibn 'Abbās concerning the tides. His answer was this. 'It is an angel charged with the guardianship of the great ocean, who when he puts down his foot the water flows, and when he takes it up it ebbs.'" The flux and reflux of the water at al-Baṣrah is a standing miracle and a real blessing to its inhabitants, as the water visits them twice in every day and night, entering the canals and irrigating the gardens and carrying 125.
boats to the villages; and when it ebbs it also is of use in the working of mills which stand at the mouths of the canals, so that when the water flows out they are set in motion. The flood tide reaches as high up as the swamps [al-Baṭā'iḥ]. The tides have proper seasons which follow the movements of the moon.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THIS PROVINCE.

The Climate of this province is varied. Thus, Baghdād and Wāsiṭ and the intervening country have a fine, but quickly changeable climate, there being times when the heat in summer is intense and insupportable, but a sudden change sets in. Al-Kūfah

[1] According to Herodotus the Euphrates was navigable from Babylon upwards (Smith's *Dict.*, 875*b*.) Qudāmah (p. 216) gives the distances between Baghdād and ar-Raqqah by way of the Euphrates. The distance according to his account is 126 *farsakhs*, as follows: from Baghdād to as-Sailaḥīn 4 *far.*; al-Anbār 8 *far.*; ar-Rabb 7 *far.*; Hīt 12 *far.*; an-Nā'ūsah 7 *far.*; Ālūsah 7 *far.*; al-Fuḍaimah 6 *far.*; an-Nahyah 6 *far.*; ad-Dāziqī 6 *far.*; al-Furḍhah 6 *far.*; Wādi-s-Sibā' 5 *far.*; Khalīj Ibn Jumai' 5 *far.*; al-Fāsh 6 *far.*; Nahr Sa'īd 8 *far.*; al-Jardān 14 *far.*; al-Mubārak 11 *far.*; ar-Raqqah 8 *far.*

[2] This is probably Ashras ibn 'Abdu-llah, of whom mention is made in Abu-l-Maḥāsin, I. 294. He is there spoken of as an excellent and accomplished man who was known by the title of al-Kāmil, 'the Perfect,' for his eminent qualities. Having lived in the beginning of the second century of the Hijrah, it is quite possible that he did meet Ibn 'Abbās, who died in A.H. 69. The list of authorities in this tradition is as follows: Abu-l-Ḥasan Muṭahhar ibn Muḥammad of Rāma-Hurmuz; Aḥmad ibn 'Amr ibn Zakariyyā'; al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bahr; Abū Shu'aib al-Qaisī; Ashras; Ibn 'Abbās.

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stands in complete contrast with this, whilst in al-Baṣrah a great heat prevails, and it is only when a north wind happens to be blowing that the weather becomes pleasant. In an account of the city of al-Baṣrah I came across the following: "Our life at al-Baṣrah is most singular: if a north-wind blows, we are in a pleasant garden; if a south-wind, we might be in a sewer."[1] I have often seen them, when a south-wind was blowing, in great depression of spirits, one saying as he met his friend, 'Do you not see in what plight we are,' while the other replied, 'We pray to God for relief'! There even falls upon them at night occasionally moisture as thick as the juice of the date. Ḥulwān, on the other hand, enjoys a temperate climate; but al-Baṭā'iḥ, mercy on us! the man who visits it in summer time finds some strange experiences in store for him. Indeed, they sleep in curtains; while there is a species of mosquito with a needle-
126. like stinging organ which is the insect's throat. The cities contain many doctors of law, readers of the Qur'ān, literary men, leading professors and princely personages, especially Baghdād and al-Baṣrah. Preachers have but little repute here. Ice is brought to this country from afar. The climate in winter is cold, and water freezes sometimes at al-Baṣrah and also at Baghdād. Natives of the cities of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah have tawny complexions. In this province there is a large number of Magians, while of tributaries there are both Christians and Jews. Of the Sects of Islām there are several. The prevailing sects at Baghdād are the Ḥanbalites and the Shī'ah, while the jurists of the two 'Irāqs [the cities of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah] have for ages been greatly renowned. There also are in this province some Mālikites as well as Ash'arites, Mu'tazilah and Najjāriyyah. Al-Kūfah is all Shī'ite, with the exception of al Kunāsah,[2] which is Sunnite. At al-Baṣrah there are also assemblies and institutes of the Sālimiyyah, a people who pretend to the study of scholastic theology and to practices of devotion. Most of the preachers in the city are of them; but they do not study religious law as a

[1] This is originally in verse, the author being Abu-l-Ḥusain Ibn Lankak, a celebrated poet of al-Baṣrah who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijrah. *See* ath-Tha'ālibī's *Laṭā'ifu-l-Ma'ārif*, p. 103 and Yāqūt, I. 647.

[2] See above, p. 179 and note 4.

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class, those of them who do study it following the lead of Mālik. They however assert that the founder of their sect, Ibn Sālim, studied in the school of Abū Ḥanīfah. This Sālim was a slave of Sahl ibn 'Abdi-llāh at-Tustarī. I have found the followers of this sect to be men endowed with spiritual gifts and righteousness, but they are extravagant in their praises of their chief. I frequented their society for a long time and knew their secrets and acquired for myself a niche in their hearts, for I am a man who loves ascetic people and inclines to those given to religious exercises, whatever they be. These men have a certain gentleness in their speech and are authors of several treatises, while their assemblies are always of a very high character, and disputes between them of rare occurrence. Most of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah are Qadariyyah and Shī'ah; there are also some Ḥanbalites. At Baghdād there is a sect of bigots who exceed all bounds in their love of Mu'āwiyah; there are also Mushabbihah [Assimilators][1] and Barbahāriyyah.[2] I was one day in the mosque of Wāsiṭ when I saw a man around whom a crowd of people had assembled. I approached to where he was, and heard him addressing the people as follows: "So and so has related to us on the authority of so and so that the Prophet, *Peace and blessing be upon him*, hath said: 'Verily God will draw Mu'āwiyah near to Him on the resurrection day and cause him to sit by His side, and He will perfume him with His own hand and then display him to all mankind like unto a bride.'" I said to him 'For what? is it for having waged war with 'Alī? As to Mu'āwiyah, may God be gracious to him; but as for thee, thou liest, O man of error.' On this the man exclaimed 'Seize this heretic.' I was at

[1] "A sect of Muḥammadans who allowed a resemblance between God and His creatures, supposing Him to be a figure composed of members or parts, and capable of local motion." Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 423.

[2] This passage as it stands in not quite clear. MS. C is more to the point; it says: "The Ḥanbalites of al-'Irāq are a bigoted set who allow a resemblance between God and His creatures. They exceed all bounds in their love of Mu'āwiyah and relate with respect to this some extravagant stories, particularly the Barbahāriyyah." The Barbahāriyyah were so called from al-Ḥusain ibnu-l-Qāsim ibn 'Ubaidi-llah al-Barbahārī (*circa* 300 A.H.), who was the popular head of the Ḥanbalites and Sunnites of Baghdād in his time and who was held by the common people in great estimation. See *al-Kāmil* of Ibnu-l-Athīr, VIII. p. 12. Al-Barbahārī means 'a merchant of Indian drugs.' *Glossary*, p. 187.

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once set upon by those who were present, but a certain one of the men of letters recognized me and drove them away from me.

127. The law doctors and Qāḍhīs of this province are mostly of the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah. I was one day present in the assembly of Abū Muḥammad as-Sīrāfī, who asked me saying, 'You are a native of Syria and your countrymen are all traditionists following in questions of law the teachings of ash-Shāfi'ī; why then have you adopted the system of Abū Ḥanīfah'? I replied, 'For three points, may God preserve the Faqīh.' 'And what are they,' he said. I answered, The first point is this: I find that he depends on the authority of 'Alī, *may God be pleased with him.*' Now the Prophet has said 'I am the city of learning, and 'Alī is its gate.' He has also said, 'The most learned man of you in the knowledge of the law is 'Alī,' meaning in the knowledge of practical religion. He depends also on the authority of 'Abdu-llah ibn Mas'ūd, of whom the Prophet, *Peace be on him*, hath said, 'I approve for my followers all that the son of Umm 'Abd [1] approves.' He also hath said, 'A wallet filled with learning,'[2] and also said, 'Take ye two-thirds of your religion from the son of Umm 'Abd.' It is an undoubted fact that the learning of the Kūfians is derived from these two persons. The second point is the fact that he is the earliest of the doctors and the nearest to the age of the Companions, [3] as well as the most pious and devout. Now the Prophet hath said, 'Adhere to what is old.' He hath also said, 'The best of you are those living in the age in which I am, then those who are next to them, and then those who are next to these. Then will falsehood appear.' He lived in the age of truth and the truthful. The third point is this: I see that all the doctors without exception are at variance with him on a question in which he is manifestly in the right, while they are wrong. He asked, 'And what is it'? I replied, "The learned professor is aware that it is

[1] Umm 'Abd is the mother of 'Abdu-llah ibn Mas'ūd. She was the daughter of 'Abdu-llah ibn Sawā' al-Hudhalī. She embraced the faith and emigrated, and was with her son a constant visitor at the Prophet's house. Consult *an-Nawawī*, in the life of her son, p. 370, etc.

[2] It was 'Umar who said this of Ibn Mas'ūd, not the Prophet.

[3] The last of the Companions to die was Abu-ṭ-Ṭufail 'Āmir ibn Wāthilah; who died in the year A.H. 100. Abū Ḥanīfah was born in A.H. 80 and Mālik in A.H. 94, while ash-Shāfi'ī was born in A.H. 150.

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one of his principles that it is not lawful to take a price for deeds of righteousness performed on behalf of others. Now I have always noticed about the man who performs a pilgrimage for hire that his heart is perverted and if he do the same thing again the perversion increases and his piety grows less, so that he will even take two or three pilgrimages at a time; and yet I have never known this class of people to thrive, nor have they ever been able to amass a fortune thereby; such is also the case with the *imāms* who lead at prayers, with the *mu'adhdhins* who call to prayers, and with the like of these, because their reward is due from God whereas they have taken it from His creatures." Thereupon he said, 'you have looked deeply into the matter, O Muqaddasī, and have acted with circumspection.' Were anyone to say, 'Abū Ḥanīfah has been censured by some' the answer is, 'Know that all men may be divided into three classes, one of these classes are those men whose rectitude is unanimously asserted. Another class are those whom everyone condemns as corrupt. The other class are those praised by some and blamed by others; and these are the best of the three. The case of the Companions is a good illustration. The praised among them are Ibn Mas'ūd, Mu'ādh[1] and Zaid;[2] the blamed, 'Abdu-llah ibn Ubayy; [3] but the best of them are the four Caliphs, 128. yet you know what the Khawārij and the ignorant among the Shī'ah say about them. In like manner, if there are some foolish men who blame Abū Ḥanīfah, there are multitudes of people of worth who bless him and praise him, while apart from this he deserves all praise as the person whose heart God has enlightened

1 Mu'ādh, *see* above p. 108, note 3.

2 Zaid ibn Ḥārithah, adopted son of Muḥammad, and the husband of Zainab whom he divorced in favour of the Prophet. He is the only person of Muḥammad's Companions whose name is mentioned in the Qur'ān (xxxiii. 37). His story will be found in Wherry's Commentary of the Qur'ān xxxiii. 36-40 notes. Muḥammad appointed Zaid leader of the expedition which he sent against Mu'tah. He was killed in this battle of Mu'tah, in the eighth year of the Hijrah.

3 'Abdu-llah ibn Ubayy, known as the Hypocrite. He was also called 'Abdu-llah ibn Salūl, after his mother. He was the head of the Hypocrites and many verses of the Qur'ān bear reference to him. He died in the lifetime of the Prophet, who prayed over him. An-Nawawī, p. 333. His son, who was called by the same name, was an earnest Muslim and one of the best of the Companions.

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so that he was able to reduce the sacred law to a system and thereby relieve mankind of their toils. Besides he was such as to prefer being beaten and imprisoned to assuming the duties of Qāḍhī.[1] Indeed, the like of Abū Ḥanīfah is nowhere to be seen. All the seven SYSTEMS OF READING are in use in this province. In former times the system in vogue at Baghdād was that of Ḥamzah, while the system of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍhramī[2] was current at al-Baṣrah. I have seen Abū Bakr al-Jarbakī (?) reading according to this system as he led the prayers at the great mosque there; and he used to say that it was the reading of the elders. Their DIALECTS vary, the most correct of them being that of al-Kūfah as being near to the desert and far from the Nabatheans; the remaining dialects are a mixture of good and corrupt words; this is especially the case at Baghdād, whilst the region of al-Baṭā'ih is inhabited by Nabatheans, a people without language or brains.

The productions of this province which form ARTICLES OF COMMERCE are by no means unimportant. Have you not heard of the silken stuffs of al-Baṣrah, of its fine linen cloths, of the beautiful and rare articles produced in it, and also of its galbanum? It is a mine of pearls and precious stones, a port of the sea and an emporium of the land, and a place of manufacture for antimony (*rāsukht*), red lead (*zunjufr*), verdigris (*zinjār*), and litharge (*murdāsanj*). It is, besides, the port from which dates are exported to all countries, as well as henna, floss silk, violets and rose-water. At al-Ubullah, also, linen cloths of a fine fabric are manufactured on the model of the *qaṣab* (fine linen cloths of Egypt). In al-Kūfah there are manufactured, turbans of fine floss silk; this city is also famous for its violets which are of particular excellence. In the City of Peace many beautiful and rare articles of merchandise are to be found, as well as all kinds of silken cloths and other things. There are also manufactured in this province excellent *'Abbādānī* mats and the finest *sāmān*

[1] It was al-Manṣūr who desired him to take the office of Qāḍhī of Baghdād, but he refused and on persisting in his refusal, was sent to prison. Before this, Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubairah wished to appoint him to the place of Qāḍhī at al-Kūfah, and on his refusal he inflicted on him one hundred strokes of a whip in order to force him to accept. See his life in Ibn Khall., De Slane, Vol. III., pp. 556 and 558.

[2] Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍhramī, *see* above, page 61, note 11.

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(rush-mats). Of the SPECIALITIES of this province are: the violets and *azādh* dates of al-Kūfah, the *muḥkam* cloth and other rarities of Baghdād, the *ma'qilī* dates of al-Baṣrah, the figs of Ḥulwān, and the *shīm* and *bunnī* fishes of Wāsiṭ. At an-Nu'māniyyah, also, there are made excellent mantles and cloths of wool of the colour of honey; and at Baghdād veils and turbans of fine *Yakānakī* cloth. The kerchiefs of al-Qaṣr and al-Buwaibʾ are also famous; as well as the wool of Takrīt and the veils of 129.
Wāsiṭ. Their MEASURES OF CAPACITY are: the *qafīz*, equivalent to 30 *mana*; the *makkūk*, 5 *mana*; and the *kailajah*, 2 *mana*. Their *raṭl* (*or pound*) equals half a *mann*. Their COINS are weighed; but their weights are a little greater than those of Khurāsān.

Some of the customs peculiar to this province. They love to dress handsomely and to appear in *ṭailasāns*.[2] They generally wear shoes, let down their turbans to a great length, and clothe themselves in fine linen. The cut of their *ṭailasāns* is slightly circular. When it is the season for the importation of new dates to Wāsiṭ, a watch is kept and the owner of the first boat which arrives usually decorates in honour of it the river bank to his very shop with carpets and curtains. They place upon the biers of their women high and ugly domes. The sellers of *harīsah*[3] have separate places on the top of their shops furnished with mats and having tables provided with condiments, and in which servants are also kept, with basins and ewers and alkali for washing. On leaving one has only to pay a single *dāniq*.[4] At the beginning of the season of violets, they make the round of the markets with bunches of violets and dress for the occasion in their handsomest clothes. By the doors of the mosques there are generally places for ablution which are hired out. The *khaṭībs* (who preach and lead on Fridays) dress in tunics and girdles. They do not chant in reciting the *adhān*, and have

[1] A place near al-Kūfah, and also a canal derived from the Euphrates and passing through it.

[2] The *ṭailasān* is distinctive of the *Faqīhs*, or professors of theology and law. In some countries it was worn by all men of distinction, as well as by the common people *See* Dozy's *Dict. des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes*, pp. 278-280.

[3] A kind of thick pottage made of bruised wheat boiled to a consistency, to which meat, butter, cinnamon and aromatic herbs are added.

[4] A small silver coin, the sixth part of a *dirham*; about a penny and a half of English money.

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besides many other excellent customs. Their WATERS are chiefly from the river Tigris, from the Euphrates and from the Zāb and the Nahrawānāt. These rivers also irrigate their fields. Water is deficient at al-Baṣrah; it is brought in boats from al-Ubullah as the water running in front of it is not sweet, nor pleasant to the taste. Of the water of al-Baṣrah it is commonly said that 'one-third of it is sea-water, one-third tide-water, and one-third sewage'; the reason of this being that, when the water of the tide flows back and the canal banks are laid bare, the people use the ground as latrines, the water carrying off the filth when it is flood tide. When a south wind blows the water becomes warm.

Sectarian quarrels of a fierce character arise at al-Baṣrah
130. between the Rubā'iyyīn,[1] who are Shī'ah, and the Sa'diyyīn, who are Sunnah. In these quarrels, the inhabitants of the outlying districts often take part. There is seldom a place in which factious quarrels do not occur from other causes than religion.

Of HOLY PLACES in this province there are many. At Kūthā, Abraham was born and his fire[2] set burning. At al-Kūfah, Noah built his ark and his oven[3] poured forth its boiling water; there also are the monuments of 'Alī and his tomb,[4] as well as the tomb of al-Ḥusain and his place of martyrdom.[5]

[1] The Banū Rubai' are an offshoot of the great tribe of Sa'd ibn Zaid Manāt ibn Tamīm. They appear to have dwelt in al-Baṣrah from the early days of Islām. *See Kitābu-l-Ishtiqāq* of Ibn Duraid, p. 151.

[2] Qur'ān, xxi. 69. *See* Wherry's *Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 146.

[3] Qur'ān, xi. 40. *See* Wherry's *Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 352. The exudation of this oven was the sign by which Noah knew the flood was coming. Some pretend that it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread in, and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to Noah. *Ibid.*

[4] 'Alī was assassinated in the Great Mosque of al-Kūfah, where his body lies. Others say that he was buried in the palace. As a matter of fact, his tomb was kept secret during the whole reign of the Umayyads, and only discovered under the 'Abbāsides. 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah, the Buwaihide prince, built a magnificent monument over the tomb of 'Alī, the shrine known as *Mashhad 'Alī*.

[5] The field of Karbalā', where al-Ḥusain met his death, lies on the bank of the western branch of the Euphrates, twenty-five miles above the city of al-Kūfah. The body of al-Ḥusain was buried in the plain of Karbalā'. His shrine is to this day visited with great devotion by the Persians. It is

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At al-Baṣrah are the tombs of Ṭalḥah,[1] Zubair,[2] the Prophet's brother,[3] al-Ḥasan al-Biṣrī,[4] Anas ibn Mālik,[5] 'Imrān ibn Ḥuṣain,[6] Sufyān aṯ-Ṯaurī,[7] Mālik ibn Dīnār,[8] 'Utbah the Slave,[9] Muḥammad ibn Wāsi',[10] Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī,[11] Ayyūb

commonly known as *Mashhad Ḥusain*, or the place of martyrdom of al-Ḥusain, and is not very far from *Mashhad 'Alī*, the sepulchre of his father. *See* D'Herbelot, Vol. II., p. 268.

[1] Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaidi-llāh, one of the ten foremost Companions of the Prophet, who on the field of Uḥud saved the life of Muḥammad at the peril of his own. He was killed at the battle of the Camel in 36 A.H., and was first buried at a place outside al-Baṣrah, but was removed after some years to the interior of the town, where his tomb is a well-known place of visitation. He was 64 years of age at the time of his death. Nawawī, p. 323.

[2] Az-Zubair ibnu-l-'Awwām, husband of the Prophet's aunt. He was one of the chiefest among the Companions, and was killed on the day of the Battle of the Camel, in a valley outside al-Baṣrah called Wādi-s-Sibā', where he lies buried. He died 67 years of age. Nawawī, p. 250.

[3] The foster-brother of Muḥammad, 'Abdu-llāh ibnu-l-Ḥāriṯh ibn 'Abdi-l-'Uzzā as-Sa'dī, who lies buried here with his mother Ḥalīmah, the woman in whose house Muḥammad lived the years of his childhood.

[4] One of the most eminent Tābi'īs, celebrated for his learning and great devotion. Born at al-Madīnah two years before the death of 'Umar. Died at al-Baṣrah in 110 A.H. For his life *see* Ibn Khallikān, I. 370, and also an-Nawawī, p. 209.

[5] The domestic servant of Muḥammad during the ten years he lived at al-Madīnah. Originally of this city, he removed to al-Baṣrah on the death of his master and became one of its greatest *imāms* in Traditions. He lived to a very old age, and died in A.H. 93, at a place about one and a half *farsakhs* from the city, where he was buried. The place of his burial is known as Qaṣr Anas, "the Palace of Anas." *See* an-Nawawī, p. 165.

[6] 'Imrān ibnu-l-Ḥuṣain al-Khuzā'ī, one of the Companions, who embraced Islām in A.H. 7. He is an authority for a large number of traditions. He died at al-Baṣrah, where he had settled, in 52 A.H. An-Nawawī, p. 484.

[7] Sufyān was a native of al-Kūfah. In 155 A.H., he left his native city for al-Baṣrah, where he died six years after, in 161 A.H. *See* an-Nawawī, p. 288.

[8] One of the Tābi'īs; a native of al-Baṣrah and one of its leading men in traditions. He was noted for self-mortification, fear of God and devotion. Died 123 A.H. An-Nawawī, p. 537.

[9] *Cf.* Ibn Baṭūṭah, Vol. II., p. 15.

[10] Muḥammad ibn Wāsi' ibn Jābir al-Azdī, one of the Tābi'īs and a man of great devotion and asceticism. Died A.H. 120, or according to Ibnu-l-Athīr (V. p. 259), in 127 A.H.

[11] A traditionist; died in 172 A.H. *Abu-l-Mahāsin*, Vol. I., p. 466.

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as-Sikhtiyānī,[1] Sahl at-Tustarī[2] and Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyyah;[3] there also is the tomb of Ibn Sālim.[4] At Baghdād is the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfah, over which Abū Ja'far az-Zammām[5] has raised a monumental structure. By the side of it, behind the market of Yaḥyā, there lies another tomb. That of Abū Yūsuf[6] lies in the cemetery of Quraish. There also are the tombs of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal,[7] Ma'rūf al-Karkhī,[8] Bishr al-Ḥāfī[9] and others. The tomb of Salmān is at al-Madā'in. At al-Kūfah there is also the tomb of a certain prophet, whom I believe to be Yūnas [Jonas], *Peace be on him.* The people of al-'Irāq are distinguished for their gentleness of manners; they are men of great refinement, but when the rogues of Baghdād stir themselves they cause a great havoc. Here violence prevails to a great extent. At al-Baṣrah, on the other hand, there are many men of probity and

[1] Ayyūb ibn Abī Tamīmah. Died of plague at al-Baṣrah, in 131 A.H. *Ibn Qutaibah.*

[2] Abū Muḥammad Sahl ibn 'Abdi-llāh ibn Yūnas at-Tustarī, a celebrated saint gifted with miraculous powers. Born in 200 A.H., at Tustar. Died at al-Baṣrah in 283 A.H.

[3] Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyyah, a woman celebrated for her holy life. In his biographical dictionary (I. 515), Ibn Khallikān says that her tomb is situated on the mount of Tor, on the eastern side of Jerusalem. This however is a mistake, Rābi'ah being buried in her native town of al-Baṣrah. The tomb mentioned by Ibn Khallikān is that of Rābi'ah al-Badawiyyah, another holy woman. *See* Ibn Baṭūṭāh, I. 124.

[4] Ibn Sālim, founder of the heretical sect of as-Sālimiyyah, mentioned above p. 126 of the text.

[5] A contemporary of the author, and a man of great repute, at whose house the chief learned men of Baghdād often met. *Cf.* Text, page 117 *n.*

[6] See above, p. 149 note 4.

[7] *Cf.* Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 113. "The tomb of Abū Ḥanīfah is near ar-Ruṣāfah; it has a great dome over it. Close to it lies the tomb of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, which has no dome. It is said that a dome was erected on his tomb several times, but it was always destroyed by decree of God. His tomb is held in great veneration by the people of Baghdād, most of whom are followers of his school."

[8] The greatest saint of his time, said to have been of Christian parentage. He was from al-Karkh, the western quarter of Baghdād, and was one of the foremost men of his age in learning and piety. He died 200 A.H. Abu-l-Maḥāsin, Vol. I., p. 575.

[9] Bishr al-Ḥāfī, or "the Barefoot," a great saint originally from Khurāsān. He was born in Marw in 150 A.H., and died in Baghdād, the city of his adoption, in 227 A.H. Abu-l-Maḥāsin, Vol. I., p. 673.

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devotion, and pious and honest people. They perform the noonday prayers at a late hour, but the afternoon prayers early. They wait in the Mosque for all men to arrive from the distant quarters. The leader (*imām*) preaches every morning, reciting also a supplicatory prayer. This, they say, is the practice of Ibn 'Abbās, *may God be gracious to him.*

THE GOVERNMENT.— This province is the residence of the Caliphs of the House of 'Abbās, whose authority was all-powerful until they commenced to decline and at last fell under the sway of the Dailamites; no regard is now paid to them, nor are their opinions heeded. The first sovereign of the line was Abu-l-'Abbās 'Abdu-llāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [1] ibn al-'Abbās, who was proclaimed Caliph in the year 132, and died in 136, at al-Anbār; his Qāḍhī (Chief Justice) was Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī.[2] He was succeeded by (his brother) al-Manṣūr Abū Ja'far 'Abdu-llāh ibn Muḥammad, who received the allegiance of the people in the year 136, and died in 158; his Qāḍhīs [3] were 'Ubaidu-llah ibn Ṣafwān, Sharīk and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umārah. His successor, al-Mahdī Abū 'Abdi-llāh, son of al-Manṣūr, ascended the throne in the year 158; his Qāḍhīs were Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-llāh ibn 'Alāqah and 'Āfiyah ibn Yazīd.[4] He died in 169, when al-Hādī Abū Muḥammad Mūsā, **131.**

1 Read 'Alī ibn *'Abdi-llāh* ibn al-'Abbās. The first Caliph of the 'Abbāsides is better known in history by his title of *as-Saffāḥ*, the Shedder of Blood, which he acquired by his "reckless executions of enemies and suspects." For a sketch of his character, and indeed for whatever is connected with the history of this dynasty, the reader is referred to the recent admirable work of Mr. Justice Syed Ameer Ali, "*A Short History of the Saracens.*"

2 According to *Kitābu-l-'Uyūn*, p 215, his first Qāḍhī was Abū Lailā al-Anṣārī. Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, who also acted as Qāḍhī of al-Hāshimiyyah under al-Manṣūr, was one of the *Faqīhs* of al-Madīnah. Abu-l-Maḥāsin (I. 388) gives the year 143 as the date of his death.

3 *Kitābu-l-'Uyūn* mentions 'Ubaidu-llah ibn Ṣafwān, Sharīk ibn 'Abdi-llāh and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umārah as the Secretaries of al-Manṣūr. His Qāḍhīs according to this work were Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (*cf.* Abu-l-Maḥāsin, I. 388) and 'Uthmān at-Tamīmī, who had been Qāḍhī under Marwān II., the last of the Umayyads. Al-Qāḍhī Sharīk ibn 'Abdi-llāh ibn Abī Sharīk an-Nakha'ī, was of Kūfian origin and a man of great learning and piety. He died at his native city in 177 A.H. (*Abu-l-Maḥ.*, I. 485).

4 So also *Kitābu-l-'Uyūn*, who adds (p. 281) that both sat at the same court in ar-Ruṣāfah. 'Āfiyah ibn Yazīd ibn Qais al-Kūfī al-Azdī died in 180 A.H. He was one of the disciples of Abū Ḥanīfah, well versed in the science of Law and of great piety and devotion. *Abu-l-Maḥ.*, I. 500.

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son of al-Mahdī, was saluted as Caliph; his Qāḍhīs were Abū Yūsuf and Sa'īd ibn 'Abdi-r-Raḥmān.[1] He died in 170 and was succeeded on the throne by ar-Rashīd Abū Ja'far Hārūn, son of al-Mahdī, on the night preceding Friday, the 14th Rabī' I. 170 A.H.; his Qāḍhīs were al-Ḥusain ibnu-l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūfī, 'Aun ibn 'Abdi-llāh al-Mas'ūdī and Ḥafṣ ibn Ghiyāth.[2] He died at Ṭūs in the year 193, upon which his son, al-Amīn Muḥammad, was raised to the Caliphate on the 7th of Jumādā II. 193 A.H. He was attacked and killed by his brother al-Ma'mūn, who was saluted Caliph in the year 198. The Qāḍhīs of al-Ma'mūn were al-Wāqidī,[3] Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-r-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī,[4] Bishr ibnu-l-Walīd[5] and Yaḥyā ibn Aktham.[6] He died in 218, at
132. Ṭarasūs, when Abū Isḥāq Muḥammad ibnu-r-Rashīd, al-Mu'taṣim, succeeded; his Qāḍhī was Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād.[7] On the death

[1] Al-Qāḍhī Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm, the celebrated disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah, in the western quarter, and Sa'īd ibn 'Abdi-r-Raḥmān, in the eastern quarter of Baghdād. *Kitābu-l-'Uyūn*, p. 290.

[2] Ḥafṣ ibn Ghiyāth ibn Ṭalq Abū 'Abdi-llāh an-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī, Qāḍhī of the eastern quarter of Baghdād. He held the office of Qāḍhī for a long time and up to the time of his death. He bore an excellent character, and was a trustworthy traditionist, although he did not always mention his immediate authorities for the traditions he related. He died in 194 A.H. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, I. 552.

[3] Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Wāqid, al-Imām Abū 'Abdi-llāh al-Aslamī. He was born in 129 A.H., and was a man of great learning, well versed in the history of the battles and conquests of Islām. He officiated as Qāḍhī under al-Ma'mūn for a period of four years. He died in 207 A.H. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, I. 596.

[4] He was appointed Qāḍhī of 'Askaru-l-Mahdī, in the eastern quarter of Baghdād, in 208 A.H. He was however removed from his office after some time, and Bishr ibnu-l-Walīd al-Kindī appointed in his place. *See* Abu-l-Maḥāsin, I. 598.

[5] Bishr ibnu-l-Walīd ibn Khālid, al-Imām Abū Bakr al-Kindī al-Ḥanafī. He was highly distinguished for his learning, his piety and the austerity of his life. He lived to an advanced age and died A.H. 238. De Slane's *Ibn Khallikān*, IV. 285. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, I. 721.

[6] For the life of this celebrated judge, *see* Ibn Khallikān, Vol. IV. 33. He died in 242 A.H., having then attained the age of eighty-three years.

[7] Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād ibn Jarīr, al-Qāḍhī Abū 'Abdi-llāh al-Iyādī, was born at al-Baṣrah in 160 A.H., but chiefly resided at Baghdād, where he died in 240. He held the office of Chief Qāḍhī under both al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, and was distinguished for his liberality, learning and polite manners. A lengthy sketch of his life is given in Ibn Khallikān, I. 61. *See* also Abu-l-Maḥāsin, I. 733.

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of al-Mu'taṣim in 227, his son al-Wāthiq Abū Ja'far Hārūn, was raised to the throne; his Qāḍhī was also Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād. He died in 232, and was succeeded by his brother Abu-l-Faḍhl Ja'far al-Mutawakkil; his Qāḍhī was Ja'far ibn 'Abdi-l-Wāḥid al-Hāshimī.[1] He died in 247, and his son al-Muntaṣir Abū Ja'far Muḥammad was proclaimed Caliph; his Qāḍhī was Ja'far ibn 'Abdi-l-Wāḥid; he died in 248, and was succeeded by his son[2] Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Musta'īn, whose Qāḍhī was Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār.[3] After three years and eight months, he abdicated and was succeeded by al-Mu'tazz, son of al-Mutawakkil; his Qāḍhī was al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib.[4] His successor, al-Mu'tamid[5] Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad, son of al-Mutawakkil, ascended the throne in 256, and had for Qāḍhī Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib;[6] he died in 279, and was

[1] Al-Qāḍhī Ja'far ibn 'Abdi-l-Wāḥid, well-known by the title of Qāḍhi-th-Thughūr, was a member of the 'Abbāside family, whom al-Mutawakkil appointed to the office of Chief Qāḍhī at Sāmarrā' in 240 A.H. He died in the year 258, or by another account, in 268 or 269. *See* Abu-l-Maḥāsin, II. 30, and *Ibn Khallikān*, IV. 48 and 49.

[2] This is a mistake. Al-Musta'īn was the son of Muḥammad ibnu-l-Mu'taṣim, so that he was a cousin of the late Caliph. Al-Fakhrī gives the motive for which he was raised to the Caliphate. The Turkish Amīrs, he says, were afraid if any of the sons of al-Mutawakkil were to gain possession of the throne, he would punish them for the murder of his father; they therefore placed on the seat of Caliphate another grandson of al-Mu'taṣim, so that the succession may remain in his line.

[3] In Ibnu-l-Athīr, VII. 88, Ja'far ibn *Aḥmad* ibn 'Ammār. Died A.H. 250.

[4] Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik, appointed to the office of Chief Qāḍhī in the year 252. Died in 261 A.H. He was a descendant of the Umayyads, and was distinguished for his learning and judgment. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, II. 36.

[5] Al-Mu'tazz was forced to abdicate at the end of the month of Rajab, A.H. 255, and al-Muhtadī, a son of al-Wāthiq, was raised to the throne in his place. After a short reign of only eleven months, al-Muhtadī himself was seized and thrown into confinement, where he died a few days after. Al-Muhtadī was succeeded by al-Mu'tamid, the eldest surviving son of al-Mutawakkil, but the real ruler was his brother al-Muwaffaq, a man of undoubted abilities.

[6] From the commencement of his reign to the year 261, the chief Qāḍhī was Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik mentioned above. In 261, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad died, and his son, 'Alī ibnu-l-Ḥasan, Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib, was appointed in his place at Surra-manra'ā, whilst al-Qāḍhī Ismā'īl ibn Isḥāq was appointed to the same office at Baghdād. 'Alī ibnu-l-Ḥasan, Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib, died in 283. He had held the office of Qāḍhī of Baghdād for only six months.

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succeeded by his son[1] Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Aḥmad, al-Mu'taḍhid; his Qāḍhīs were Ismā'il ibn Isḥāq,[2] Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb[3] and Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib;[4] he died in 289. He was succeeded in the Caliphate by his son Abū Muḥammad 'Alī al-Muktafī; his Qāḍhīs were Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb and Muḥammad[5] his son; he died in 295. His other son,[6] Abu-l-Faḍhl Ja'far al-Muqtadir, succeeded; his Qāḍhīs were Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb, Yūsuf son of the latter, and Ya'qūb Abū 'Amr. Al-Muqtadir was killed in 320. He was succeeded by al-Qāhir,[7] whose reign lasted one year and six months. Ar-Rāḍhī[8] his successor, reigned seven years and ten days. Al-Muttaqī,[9] the next Caliph, three years and eleven months. His successor, al-Mustakfī,[10] ascended the chair of Caliphate in 333; his Qāḍhī was Abū 'Abdi-llāh ibn Abī Mūsā aḍh-Ḍharīr. In the year 334 he was blinded, and al-Muṭi' Abu-l-Qāsim al-Faḍhl[11] placed on the throne. All these were descendants of al-Mu'taḍhid. Al-Muṭi' continued to reign to the year 363, when he abdicated in favour of his son 'Abdu-l-Karīm Abū Bakr aṭ-Ṭā'i'; the Qāḍhī of the latter is Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaidu-llah ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma'rūf.

1 Another mistake. Al-Mu'taḍhid was the son of *al-Muwaffaq*, *brother* of al-Mu'tamid. Our author is right however in calling his father Abū Aḥmad, as this was al-Muwaffaq's name.

2 His first appointment as Qāḍhī of Baghdād was as early as the year 262, in the reign of al-Mu'tamid. *See* Abu-l-Maḥāsin, II. 37.

3 Officiated at the funeral of al-Mu'taḍhid, and died in the year 297. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, II. 132 and 180.

4 Ibn Abi-sh-Shawārib 'Alī ibnu-l-Ḥasan. *See* note 17.

5 Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'qūb, Abū 'Amr al-Qāḍhī al-Azdī. Held the office of Qāḍhī at Madīnatu-l Manṣūr, and was a man of learning, wisdom and devotion. Died 320 A.H. *Abu-l-Maḥāsin*, II. 250.

6 Al-Muqtadir was a son of al-Mu'taḍhid. He was but thirteen years of age when raised to the throne. At the end of his long reign of nearly twenty-five years, the Caliphate had come to the lowest ebb.

7 Another son of al-Mu'taḍhid.

8 Ar-Rāḍhī-bi-llāh Abu-l-'Abbās Muḥammad, son of al-Muqtadir. He ascended the throne on the 6th Jumādā I. 322 A.H., and died in the middle of Rabī' I. 329. His reign lasted therefore 6 years 10 months and 10 days, two months less than the period given by al-Muqaddasī.

9 Al-Muttaqī-li-llāh Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, also son of al-Muqtadir.

10 Al-Mustakfī Abu-l-Qāsim 'Abdu-llah, son of al-Muktafī. He was Caliph for little over a year. Died in 388 A.H., about four years after his deposition.

11 Another son of al-Muqtadir.

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The first of the Dailamites[1] to make himself master of the country was Abu-l-Ḥasan[2] ibn Buwaih, who was succeeded by his son Bakhtiyār. 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah next took possession of the throne, and on his death his son Balkārzār first succeeded, and next his elder son Abu-l-Fawāris. 133.

Land Revenue.—The area under cultivation in this province measures 36,000,000 acres. On an acre of wheat, a tax of 4 dirhams is levied; on an acre of barley, 2 dirhams; and on an acre of palm-trees, 8 dirhams. This is as it was fixed by 'Umar himself. He also imposed a capitation tax[3] on 500,000 tributaries. The revenue of the Sawād amounted accordingly to 128 millions of dirhams. 'Umar ibn 'Abdi-l-'Azīz[4] still received 124 millions. On the other hand, al-Ḥajjāj realized 18 millions only,[5] that is, minus the 100 millions. The cities of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah are tithe-lands. In a book in the Library of 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah I have found it stated as follows—'The aggregate price of the land produce of the Sawād amounts to 86,780,000 dirhams; of other sources of revenue in the Sawād another 4,008,000

[1] Below is given the succession of the first five Buwaihide princes in al-'Irāq, with their names and the periods of their reigns:

1 Mu'izzu-d-Daulah Abu-l-Ḥusain (*not Abu-l-Ḥasan*) Aḥmad. A.H. 334–356.

2 'Izzu-d-Daulah Bakhtiyār, his son. A.H. 356–367.

3 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah, son of Ruknu-d-Daulah Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan. A.H. 367–372.

4 Ṣamṣāmu-d-Daulah Abū Kālījār, younger son of 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah. A.H. 372–376.

5 Sharafu-d-Daulah Abu-l-Fawāris, elder son of 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah. A.H. 376–379.

[2] His correct name was Abu-l-Ḥusain as in MS. C. The three sons of Buwaih, all of whom attained sovereign power, were 'Imādu-d-Daulah Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī, Ruknu-d-Daulah Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan and Mu'izzu-d-Daulah Abu-l-Ḥusain Aḥmad.

[3] Literally: and he *sealed* five hundred thousand of the tributaries; that is, he marked them, in classes, twelve dirhams, and twenty-four, and forty-eight; tying a thong upon the neck of each, and putting upon the knot a seal of lead. *Vide* Lane, sub. خَتَمَ; and also M. De Goeje's Translation of Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 11 note 4.

[4] Eighth Caliph of the Umayyads (A.H. 99–101), about 80 years anterior to the time of 'Umar.

[5] This great falling off in the revenue of the Sawād is due to 'the tyrannical and despotic Government of al-Ḥajjāj.' *Ibn Khurd.*, p. 15.

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dirhams are realized; the revenue of the District of the Tigris amounts to 8,500,000 dirhams.'—Al-'Irāq is divided into *ṭassūjs*; these are to the number of sixty; *viz.*, in the District of Ḥulwān 5,[1] in Shādh-Qubādh[2] 8, in Barmāsiyān[3] 3, in Upper Bih-Qubādh[4] 6, in Middle Bih-Qubādh[5] 4, in Ardashīr Bābakān[6] 5, in Shādh-Sābūr[7] 4, in Shādh-Bahman[8] 4, in Astān al-'Āl[9] 4, in Lower Bih-Qubādh[10] 5, in Shādh-Hurmuz[11] 7, and in

[1] The District of Ḥulwān, called in Persian times Astān of Shādh-Fairūz, five *ṭassūjs*: 1° Fairūz-Qubādh; 2° al-Jabal (the mountain); 3° Tāmarrā; 4° Irbil; 5° Khāniqīn. The names of the *ṭassūjs* in this and the other districts are taken from Ibn Khurdādhbah.

[2] Astān of Shādh-Qubādh, eight *ṭassūjs*: 1° Rūstuqbādh; 2° Mahrūdh; 3° Silsil; 4° Jalūlā and Jalultā; 5° adh-Dhībain: 6° al-Bandanījīn; 7° Barāz ar-Rūz; 8° ad-Daskarah and ar-Rustāqain. This District lies to the east of the Tigris, and is one of the districts watered by the rivers Tigris and Tāmarrā.

[3] In Ibn Khurdādhbah, Astān of Bih-Dhīwamāstān, commonly called by the name of az-Zawābī, or the Zābs, three *ṭassūjs*: 1° az-Zābu-l-A'lā (Upper Zāb); 2° az-Zābu-l-Ausaṭ (Middle Zāb); 3° az-Zābu-l-Asfal (Lower Zāb). This is one of the districts to the west of the Tigris, and watered by the Euphrates and the Dujail.

[4] Astān of Bih-Qubādh al-A'lā (the Upper), six *ṭassūjs*: 1° Bābil; 2° Khuṭarniyah; 3° al-Fallūjatu-l-'Ulyā (Upper Fallūjah); 4° al-Fallūjatu-s-Suflā (Lower Fallūjah); 5° an-Nahrain (the two canals); 6° 'Ainu-t-Tamr. Another of the Euphrates-Dujail districts.

[5] Astān of Bih-Qubādh al-Ausaṭ (the Middle), four *ṭassūjs*: 1° al-Jubbah and al-Budāt; 2° Sūrā and Barbīsamā; 3° Bārūsamā; 4° Nahru-l-Malik (the Royal Canal). Of the Euphrates-Dujail districts, west of the Tigris.

[6] Astān of Ardashīr Bābakān, one of the Euphrates-Dujail districts, five *ṭassūjs*: 1° Bahurasīr; 2° ar-Rūmaqān; 3° Kūthā; 4° Nahr-Durqīṭ; 5° Nahr-Jaubar.

[7] Astān of Shādh-Sābūr, that is, Kaskar, four *ṭassūjs*: 1° az-Zandaward; 2° ath-Tharthūr; 3° al-Astān; 4° al-Jawāzir. This is one of the two districts watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. The other is Shādh-Bahman.

[8] Astān of Shādh-Bahman, known as the District of the Tigris, four *ṭassūjs*: 1° Bahman-Ardashīr; 2° Maisān, called also Milwā; 3° Dasti-Maisān, which is the same as al-Ubullah; 4° Abazqubādh.

[9] Astān al-'Āl, one of the Euphrates-Dujail districts, four *ṭassūjs*: 1° Fairūz-Sābūr, that is, al-Anbār; 2° Maskin; 3° Qaṭrabbul; 4° Bādūrayā.

[10] Astān of Bih-Qubādh al-Asfal (the Lower), five *ṭassūjs*: 1° Furāt Bādaqlā; 2° as-Sailaḥīn; 3° Nistar; 4° Rūdhmastān; 5° Hurmuzjard.

[11] Astān of Shādh-Hurmuz, one of the Tigris-Tāmarrā districts, seven *ṭassūjs*: 1° Buzurjasābūr: 2° Nahr-Būq; 3° Kalwādhā and Nahr-Bīn; 4° Jāzir; 5° al-Madīnatu-l-'Atīqah (the old town); 6° Rādhān al-A'lā (the Upper); 7° Rādhān al-Asfal (the Lower).

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Nahrawānat [1] 5.—As for the DUTIES paid on commerce, they are heavy and multifarious, and all of recent imposition. They are levied by land and water, while at al-Baṣrah a very severe search is made, and the exactions are harassing; such is also the case at al-Baṭā'iḥ, where goods are appraised and examined. The Qarāmiṭah have established an office at the gate of al-Baṣrah, where imposts are paid; the Dailamites have likewise an office of their own, so that on a single sheep as much as four dirhams 134
are taken. The gate opens for only an hour of the day. When the pilgrims return even the loads of dressed skins and the Arabian camels are taxed; so also at al-Kūfah and Baghdād. On every camel-litter 60 dirhams have to be paid by the pilgrims, on every large houdah or a load of fine linen 100, and on every small houdah 50, and 100 at al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

Al-'Irāq measures in its length, from the Sea to as-Sinn, 125 *farsakhs*. Its breadth, from al-'Udhaib to the 'Aqabah (Pass) of Ḥulwān, [2] is 80. The total area is therefore 10,000 *farsakhs*.

DISTANCES ALONG THE HIGH ROADS.—From Baghdād [3] to Nahru-l-Malik, one stage; thence to al-Qaṣr, one stage; thence to Ḥammām Ibn 'Umar, one stage; thence to al-Kūfah, one stage; thence to al-Qādisiyyah, one stage. From Baghdād [4] to al-Madā'in, one stage; thence to as-Sīb, one stage; thence to Dairu-l-'Āqūl, one stage; thence to Jarjarāyā, one stage; thence to an-Nu'māniyyah,

[1] This is the district called in Ibn Khurdādhbah, Astān of Bāzījān Khusrau, five *tassūjs*: 1° an-Nahrawān al-A'lā (the Upper); 2° an-Nahrawān al-Ausaṭ (the Middle); 3° an-Nahrawān al-Asfal (the Lower), with Iskāf Banī Junaid, Jarjarāyā, etc.; 4° Bādarāyā; 5° Bākusāyā.

[2] Al-'Udhaib which marks the extreme limit of al-'Irāq towards the desert, lies at a distance of 21 miles to the south-west of al-Kūfah. 'Aqabat-Ḥulwān is a mountain a little beyond Ḥulwān, over which the Baghdād-Khurāsān road passes.

[3] The distances in miles, in Ibn Khurdādhbah and Qudāmah, between Baghdād and al-Kūfah, are as follows,—Baghdād to Jisr Kūthā [the Kuthā Bridge] on the Nahru-l-Malik Canal 21 M.; Qaṣr Ibn Hubairah 15 M.; Sūq Asad 21 M.; Shāhī 21 M., or according to Qudāmah 15 M.; al-Kūfah 15 M.; al-Qādisiyyah 15 M.

[4] The direct route from Baghdād to Wāsiṭ is described as follows in Ibn Khurdādhbah and Qudāmah,—Baghdād to Kalwādhā 2 F.; al-Madā'in 5 F.; Sīb Banī Kūmā 7 F.; Dairu-l-'Āqūl 3 F.; Jarjarāyā 5 F.; an-Nu'māniyyah 4 F.; Jabbul 5 F.; Nahr Sābus 7 F.; Famu-ṣ-Ṣilḥ 5 F.; Wāsiṭ 7 F.—a total distance of 50 F. *See* M. deGoeje's translation of Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 152, note 1.

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one stage; thence to Jabbul, one stage; thence to Nahr Sābus, one stage; thence to Maṭārah,[1] two *barīds*;[2] thence to al-Jāzirah,[3] the same; thence to al-Isḥāqiyyah, one stage; thence to al-Miḥrāqah,[4] two *barīds*; thence to al-Ḥaddādiyyah,[5] the same; thence to Turumānah, one stage; thence to Wāsiṭ, one stage. You may also go from al-Ḥaddādiyyah to az-Zubaidiyyah,[6] one stage; and thence to Wāsiṭ, two *barīds*. From al-Miḥrāqah to al-Jāmidah is two *barīds*, and from al-Ḥaddādiyqah to aṣ-Ṣalīq also two *barīds*. From al-Baṣrah to al-Ubullah, two *barīds*; thence to Bayān, one stage;[7] thence to 'Abbādān, one stage. From Baghdād[8] to as-Sailaḥīn, two *barīds*; thence to al-Anbār, one stage; thence to ar-Rabb, one stage; thence to Hīt, two stages. From Baghdād[9] to al-Baradān,[10] two *barīds*; thence to 'Ukbarā,

[1] Our author mentions a Maṭārah among the villages in the district of al-Baṣrah. This Yāqūt (IV. 561) locates at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, between al-Madhār and al-Baṣrah, so that it cannot be the same place as this. If we accept this itinerary as correct, there must be another village of the name of Maṭārah somewhere to the north of Wāsiṭ, and we must suppose this to be another route to Wāsiṭ by a detour through al-Baṭā'iḥ.

[2] Al-Muqaddasī takes the *barīd* as measuring six miles.

[3] The text has الحارلة, but the editor remarks that it is possibly الجازرة, of which there is mention in Ibnu-l-Athīr (IX. 128), as one of the towns of al-Baṭā'iḥ. The name of the next station suggests another reading, *viz.*, al-Ḥārithiyyah. Ibn Serapion mentions a village of this name on the Nahru-n-Nars canal.

[4] In the map accompanying the original text it is called Mikhrāqah. Editor's note.

[5] Described by Yāqūt (II. 217), as a large village in the Baṭīḥah of Wāsiṭ.

[6] Mentioned by our auther at page 53 of the text as one of the villages in the district of al-Baṭā'iḥ.

[7] In Qudāmah five *farsakhs* or 15 M. Bayān lies to the east of the Tigris, on the route from al-Baṣrah to Ḥiṣn Mahdī in al-Ahwāz. It is not far from Ḥiṣn Mahdī (Yāqūt I. 773).

[8] This is the route from Baghdād to the West, following the course of the Euphrates: Baghdād to Sailaḥīn 4 *F.*; al-Anbār 8 *F.*; ar-Rabb 7 *F.*; Hīt 12 *F.*

[9] The Baghdād-Mauṣil route: Baghdād to al-Baradān 4 *F.*; 'Ukbarā 5 *F.*; Bāḥamshā 3 *F.*; al-Qādisiyyah 7 *F.*; Surra-man-ra'ā 3 *F.*; al-Karkh 2 *F.*; Jabiltā 7 *F.*; as-Sūdaqāniyah 5 *F.*; Bārimmā 5 *F.*; as-Sinn, at the mouth of the Lesser Zāb, 5 *F.* *Ibn Khurd*, p. 23.

[10] Al-Baradān lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris, four *farsakhs* to the north of the capital. Its ruins still exist at the place called now Bedran. *See* Guy Le Strange, p. 39.

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one stage; thence to Bāḥamshā, half a stage; thence to al-Qādisiyyah,[1] one stage; thence to al-Karkh,[2] one stage; thence to Jabiltā,[3] one stage; thence to as-Sūdaqāniyah, the same; thence to Bārimmā,[4] the same; thence to as-Sinn, the same. From Baghdād[5] to an-Nahrawān, two *barīds*; thence to Dair Bārimma,[6] the same; thence to ad-Daskarah, one stage; thence to Jalūlā, one stage; thence to Khāniqīn, one stage. From Hīt[7] to an-Nā'ūsah, one stage; thence to 'Ānah, one stage; thence to Ālūsah, one stage; thence to al-Fuḥaimah, one stage; thence to al-Ḥadīthah,[8] one stage; thence to an-Nahbah,[9] one stage. From Ḥulwān[10] to Mādharwastān, two *barīds*; thence to al-Marj, one stage; thence to Qaṣr Yazīd, two *barīds*; thence to az-Zubaidiyyah, one stage; thence to Qaṣr 'Amr, one stage; thence to Qarmāsīn, half a stage. From Ḥulwān to Qaṣr Shīrīn, one stage; thence to Khāniqīn, one stage. From al-Ubullah to al-Khūziyyah, one stage by water. From al-Ubullah to Nahr Dubbā,[11] one stage; thence to the mouth of the 'Aḍhudī Canal,[12] one stage. 'Askar Abī Ja'far lies opposite al-Ubullah; here there is a ferry. 135

[1] This Qādisiyyah is a large village in the Dujail District, on the eastern bank of the Tigris. It lies about nine miles below Sāmarrā, and is now famous for its glass works. (Yāqūt IV. 9).

[2] Karkh-Sāmarrā. (Yāqūt IV. 256).

[3] The text has Ḥabultā, but Ibn Khurdādhbah (p. 93) reads Jabiltā. *See* also Guy Le Strange, p. 35.

[4] On the eastern bank of the Tigris of Mauṣil. (Yāqūt I. 464).

[5] The Baghdād-Khurāsān road: Baghdād to an-Nahrawān 4 *F.*; Dair Tirmā 4 *F.*; ad-Daskarah 8 *F.*; Jalūlā 7 *F.*; Khāniqīn 7 *F.*

[6] In Ibn Khurdādhbah and Qudāmah Dair Bāzamā; in Ibn Rustah Dair Tirmā. The reading is uncertain.

[7] Continuation of the route from Baghdād to the West: *see* above p. 201, note 1.

[8] Ḥadīthatu-l-Furāt, from its situation on the Euphrates. It is also known as Ḥadīthatu-n-Nūrah. Yāqūt (II. 223).

[9] In Ibn Khurdādhbah an-Nahyah or an-Nahiyyah. The place is known to the present day by the name of an-Nahiyyah.

[10] Continuation of the Baghdād-Khurāsān road: Ḥulwān to Mādharwastān 4 *F.*; Marju-l-Qal'ah 6 *F.*; Qaṣr Yazīd 4 *F.*; az-Zubaidiyyah 6 *F.*; Khushkārīsh 3 *F.*; Qaṣr 'Amr 4 *F.*; Qarmīsīn 3 *F.*

[11] The canal of Dubbā, *see* above p. 172, note 1. Dubbā is described by Yāqūt (II. 544) as a district near al-Baṣrah interspersed with many canals and villages.

[12] This canal, which was renewed by 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah and to this fact owes its name, will be described in the chapter on Khūzistān.

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Wāsiṭ (central) was so called as the distance from it to the following towns, *viz.*, Baghdād, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Ḥulwān and al-Ahwāz, is 50 *farsakhs* in every instance. It does not occupy the centre of al-'Irāq, the town which is so situated being Dairu-l-'Āqūl. The pilgrim route commences from al-Kūfah.

THE PROVINCE OF AQŪR.

136 This also is an important province, and is besides of great worth as possessing many shrines of prophets and retreats of holy men. It was in this province that Noah's ark rested on al-Jūdī,[1] and here settled those who were saved in it and built the town of Thamānīn.[2] Here also did God forgive the people of Jonas, and cause the spring of water to issue.[3] In this country is also the entrance by which Dhu-l-Qarnain[4] passed to the region of Darkness;

[1] Al-Jūdī (Qur'ān xi. 44). A mountain in the Gordyæan ranges lying to the East of the river Tigris, and dividing Armenia on the south from Mesopotamia and *Kurdistān*, from which the mountains are supposed to have taken their name. Yāqūt describes Mount Jūdī as overlooking the city of Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, in the Manṣil district (II. 144). The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains is very ancient, and Yāqūt writes that in his time there still was a mosque on this mountain called the Mosque of Noah. According to the tradition which obtains at present, the ark rested on Mount Masis in Armenia, called by the Turks Aghir-Dāgh and situate about twelve leagues south-east of Erivan. Wherry's *Commentary*, Vol. II., p. 354.

[2] "Eighty," so named from the number of persons saved in the ark.

[3] The general Muḥammadan opinion is that Jonas was thrown into the Mediterranean, and was ejected by the fish near the port of Nineveh, from a spring of water. To explain the geographical difficulty they say that the Mediterranean has subterranean communication with every river and sea on the surface of the earth. The natural supposition, however, is that he was cast out of the sea, on the coast of Palestine, near the town of Joppa, from which he embarked for Tarshish.

[4] Qur'ān xviii. 82. The generality of commentators suppose this person to be Alexander the Great. There are others, however, who believe this prince was not Alexander, but another great conqueror much more ancient than he, being contemporary with Abraham. The story of his entrance to the region of Darkness, where was to be found the fountain of life, forms an episode in Niẓāmī's *Sikandar Nāmah*, but no historical work seriously mentions it. Ibnu-l-Athīr in his History (I. 202) thinks what is meant by the land of Darkness is the polar region when the Northern Hemisphere has its winter. There is no place on the face of the earth, he says, where the sun does not shine at all.

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and here occurred the strange events of Jirjīs[1] with Dādhiyānah. Also did God make to grow for Jonas here the gourd tree;[2] while the blessed and renowned river of God's people, the Tigris, issues from it. Does it not contain the Mosque of Jonas,[3] at Tall Taubah [Repentence Hill], to which seven visits is said to be equal to a pilgrimage? with a number of other shrines and many excellences. Besides, it is a frontier country of the Muslims and a stronghold of their strongholds, for Āmid is now the base of their warlike operations, while al-Mauṣil is one of their best recruiting grounds, and Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar one of their pleasantest gardens. In addition to all this, it is the connecting link between al-'Irāq, Syria and the stations of the Arabs after Islām. This country is also the home of horses of the best breed, while it supplies corn to most parts of al-'Irāq. Prices are low in it, and its fruits are excellent. It is the country of good and religious men. It is reported in a tradition[4] that the Prophet of God hath said: There are four mountains which are of the mountains of Paradise, four rivers of the rivers of Paradise, and four battles of the battles of Paradise. It was asked, which are the mountains? 137
He said, Uḥud, it loves us and we love it, and Majannah,[5] a mountain of the mountains of Paradise, and aṭ-Ṭūr,[6] a mountain of the mountains of Paradise. The rivers are, the Nile, the Euphrates, Saiḥān and Jaiḥān;[7] and the battles, Badr, Uḥud,

[1] St. George the martyr, whom the Muḥammadans put amongst the number of the prophets. Dādhiyānah, his persecutor, was said to be king of Mauṣil. He is called Dāzānah in Ibnu-l-Athīr (I. 264). See Mīrkhond's *Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafā* (Rehatsek), P. I., V. II. 214, for a record of Jirjīs and his miracles.

[2] *See* Wherry's Commentary on Qur'ān xxxvii. 146. "The original word (*Yaqṭīn*) properly signifies a plant which spreads itself upon the ground, having no erect stalk or stem to support it, and particularly *a gourd*."

[3] It now bears the name of *Nabi Yunas*. It is situated opposite to *Mosul*, and will be described at page 144 of the text.

[4] The authorities for this tradition are: al-Ḥākim Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarbī, the *Muḥtasib* of Bukhārā; al-Haitham ibn Kulaib (Died, 335 A.H.); Abū Ya'lā al-Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl and Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr *al-Faqīh*; Ismā'īl, *i.e*, Ibn Abī Uwais (Died, 226 A.H.); Kathīr ibn 'Abdi-llāh (*Nawawī*, 519); Kathīr's father ('Abdu-llah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Auf, *Nawawī*, 362); Kathīr's grand-father ('Amr ibn 'Auf, *Nawawī*, 481).

[5] A hill in the neighbourhood of Makkah.

[6] Mount Sinai. The name of the fourth mountain is not given.

[7] Saiḥān and Jaiḥān, the Sarus and Pyramus of classical writers, in Asia

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al-Khandaq and Ḥunain.[1] The Euphrates, which possesses this distinction,[2] bends round this province in the form of a curve; and the Tigris, a river of great renown, has its sources in it. The country, indeed, is full of Nature's blessings, and of sacred shrines and frontier posts and mosques; but it is the head-quarters of brigands, and the roads are difficult, while the Greeks have brought the frontiers to ruin by their depredations. This is its form and figure.

We have divided this province in relation to the Arabian tribes settled in it, that thou mayst know their habitations and distinguish them. The Districts therefore are three, after the number of these tribes. The first from the side of al-'Irāq is Diyār Rabī'ah, next is Diyār Muḍhar, and lastly Diyār Bakr; it has also four dependencies. 1° Diyār Rabī'ah; capital, al-Mauṣil; towns, al-Ḥadīthah, Ma'lathāya, al-Ḥasaniyyah, Talla'far,[3] Sinjār, al-Jibāl (the mountains),[4] Balad, Adhramah, Barqa'īd, Naṣibīn, Dārā, Kafartūtha,[5] Ra'su-l-'Ain, Thamānīn and others. Its dependency is Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar; towns, Faishābūr,[6] Bā'aināthā, al-Mughīthah, az-Zawazān.[7] 2° Diyār Muḍhar; capital, ar-Raqqah;

Minor. It is strange that some have thought Saiḥān to represent the Tigris, while Jaiḥān represented the Oxus. See *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 95.

[1] The battle of Badr, which is a valley a few miles from al-Madīnah, took place in the second year of the Hijrah. The battle of Uḥud, a hill three miles north-east of it, in the third year. That of al-Khandaq (*See* above p. 130 *n.* 4), in the fifth; and that of Ḥunain, a valley about three miles to the north-east of Makkah, in the eighth year.

[2] *Viz.*, that of being one of the rivers of Paradise.

[3] Tall A'far, as it is commonly called, or Tall Ya'far, as the learned call it, is a fortress between Sinjār and al-Mauṣil, in the midst of a valley through which runs a stream of water. It is on an isolated mountain, and is of great strength and impregnability. The water of the stream which flows by it, has a taste of sweetness in it; it is pestilential and unwholesome. It abounds in palm-trees, the dates being exported to al-Mauṣil. Yāqūt I. 863.

[4] *I.e.*, the mountains of Sinjār. Sinjār is situated at the foot of an elevated mountain, which is covered with trees and streams. It is said that Noah's ark touched this mountain in its course, and that Noah blessed it for this reason, as he then knew that the water was subsiding. Yāqūt III. 158.

[5] A large village at a distance of five *farsakhs* from Dārā, between the latter place and Ra's 'Ain. Kafartūtha is also the name of a village in Palestine. Yāqūt IV. 287.

[6] A small town, where several battles were fought. Yāqūt III. 931.

[7] A large tract on the East side of the Tigris, adjoining Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar.

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towns, al-Muḥtariqah, ar-Rāfiqah, Khānūqah,[1] al-Ḥarīsh,[2] Tall Maḥra,[3] Bājarwān,[4] Ḥiṣn Maslamah,[5] Tar'ūz,[6] Ḥarrān, ar-Ruhā and others. The dependency: Sarūj,[7] Kafarzāb and Kafarsīrīn. 3° Diyār Bakr; capital, Āmid; towns, Mayyāfāriqīn, Tall Fāfān, Ḥiṣn Kaifā, al-Fār, Ḥādhiyah and others. 138
Of the towns of the Euphrates District [al-Furātiyyah], the largest is Raḥbat Ibn Ṭauq; next are, Qarqīsiyā,[8]

It is bound on one side by a line running from about two days from al-Mauṣil to the beginning of the limits of Khilāṭ in Armenia; its boundary stretches on the other side to the limits of Salamās, in Adharbījān. This tract contains many strong fortresses belonging to the Kurds; such as the fort of Barqah and the fort of Bashīr, which belong to the Bashnawiyyah Kurds; and the forts of Jurdhaqīl, which is the largest and the seat of Government, and Ātīl and 'Allūs, to the Bukhtiyyah Kurds. Yāqūt II. 957.

[1] A town on the Euphrates, near ar-Raqqah. Yāqūt II. 394.

[2] In Vol, II., p. 254 of his book, Yāqūt describes al-Ḥarīsh as a village in the district of al-Marj (not al-Farj, *see* Vol. IV., p. 488), near al-Mauṣil. In Vol. I., p. 870, he mentions a place called Jarīsh, near Tall Baḥrā, or Tall Maḥrā, in Diyār Muḍhar. There can be no doubt that this is the same place as that mentioned above.

[3] Also called Tall Baḥrā, a small town between Ḥiṣn Maslamah and ar-Raqqah. It has a citadel in its centre, and had formerly a market and shops. According to some writers it is the same place as Tallu-l-Balīkh, which was so called from the river *al-Balīkh* on which the town of ar-Raqqah stands. Yāqūt I. 869.

[4] A village of the district watered by the river *al-Balīkh*. Yāqūt I. 454.

[5] A fortress between Ra's 'Ain and ar-Raqqah, built by Maslamah, son of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān, fifth of the Umayyad Caliphs. It is at a distance of one and a half miles from *al-Balīkh* and its inhabitants drink from a tank built with stone which is filled from this river once in a year. Ḥiṣn Maslamah is 9 *farsakhs* distant from Ḥarrān, on the direct route between this town and ar-Raqqah. Yāqūt II. 278.

[6] A famous village of Ḥarrān, where the Sabians had a temple dedicated to Venus. In the language of the Sabians the name of the village, *Tar'ūz*, means 'the gate of Venus.' Yāqūt I. 837.

[7] A small town which stood in the neighbourhood of Edessa, and to which the hero of al-Ḥarīrī's Assemblies belonged. Al-Iṣṭakhrī describes it (p. 78) as a fertile town abounding in grapes and fruits and with a cultivated country around. He places it at about one day's journey from Ḥarrān.

[8] The Circesium of classical writers, and the Carchemish of the Bible. It is at the junction of the Khabūr with the Euphrates, at a distance of six *farsakhs* from Raḥbat Mālik ibn Ṭauq. See Yāqūt IV. 65, and Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.*, I. 627*a*.

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'Ānah,[1] ad-Dāliyah,[2] al-Ḥadīthah. The capital of the Khābūr District is 'Arābān; and of its towns: al-Ḥuṣain,[3] ash-Shamsīniyyah,[4] Mīkisīn,[5] Sukairu-l-'Abbās,[6] al-Khaishah,[7] as-Sakīniyyah,[8] at-Tunāṇīr.[9]

Al-Mauṣil is the metropolis of this province, a great city, well built and possessing a pleasant climate and healthy water. It is of great renown and high antiquity, with good markets and inns, and inhabited by many personages of distinction and learned men; nor does it ever lack a high authority in traditions, or a noted doctor of the law. It supplies Baghdād with its corn, and thither also go all the caravans of ar-Riḥāb. It has, besides, many pleasant fields, and several specialities, excellent fruits, splendid baths, beautiful houses and good meat. It is also a flourishing town in many other respects; but the gardens are far distant, while the south wind is hurtful and the water of the river too deep to be easily drawn. The town is in the form of a *ṭailasān* (*i.e.*, semi-circular), like al-Baṣrah, and is not large in size. Down one-third of its circuit, there is a building resembling a fortress, which is called al-Murabba'ah [the Square]. It is situated along

[1] A small town on the right bank of the Euphrates, between ar-Raqqah and Hit, and north of the latter town. The country round 'Ānah is well cultivated, and the town was an important position for commerce in ancient times. It is four days' journey from Baghdād to 'Ānah. See *Anatho* in Smith's *Dict. of G. and R Geography.*

[2] A small town on the western bank of the Euphrates, between 'Ānah and ar-Raḥbah.

[3] A small town on the Khābūr. Yāqūt II. 281.

[4] The Shamsāniyyah of Yāqūt (III. 319), a small town in the Khābūr District.

[5] Mākisīn is a small town on the Khābūr, about the size of 'Arābān, but fertile and rich in cultivation. It has a bridge on the Khābūr, and is one day's journey from 'Arābān, along the bank. It is three day's journey from Mākisīn to Sinjār in a barren desert. Cotton is exported from this place to al-Mauṣil. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 74*h*.

[6] A village on the river Khābūr, midway between 'Arābān and Mākisīn. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 74*h*. Yāqūt III. 109.

[7] For al-Jaḥshiyyah, a large village of the Khābūr, at four miles from al-Mijdal. (Yāqūt II. 35). Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 139) mentions also a village of the name of al-Jashīshiyyah. Editor's note.

[8] This appears to be the place called in al-Iṣṭakhrī (p. 74*h*) *as-Suḥaimiyyah*.

[9] Commonly *Tunainīr*, one of the villages on the banks of the Khābūr. These villages export a great quantity of cotton. Iṣṭākhrī, p. 74*h*.

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the Zubaidah river, and is commonly known as the Wednesday Market. On the inner side is a large open space, where farmers and cultivators assemble; and at each corner of the quadrangle, there is an inn. Between the mosque and the river bank there is the distance of a bow-shot; it has been built on elevated ground, and is approached from the river side by a flight of steps. The steps are fewer on the town side of the Mosque. It is surrounded on all sides by arched galleries of *bānāṯ*[1] stone, and the front of the roofed sanctuary is without any doors. Most of the markets are roofed. The wells are of salt water; drinking water is obtained from the Tigris and from the Zubaidah river. Among other roads of the town, may be noticed those of Dairu-l-A'lā, Bāṣlūṯ,[2] al-Jaṣṣāṣīn [the Sellers of gypsum], Banī Maidah, al-Jaṣṣāṣah [the gypsum quarry], the road of the Mill-stone of the Prince of the Faithful, of ad-Dabbāghīn [the curriers], and that of Jamīl. The town stretches along the banks of the river, while the Palace of the Caliph stands at a distance of half a *farsakh*, on the other side of the river, near old Nūnawā. The name of al-Mauṣil was originally Khaulān, but when the Arabs extended their habitations to this centre, and 139. made the town their head-quarters, it was called al-Mauṣil.[3] Nūnawā[4] is in the neighbourhood of al-Mauṣil; it is the city of Yūnas, son of Mattā.[5] It was dominated by a citadel, which has been thrown down by the wind. It now consists of cultivated fields, with the stream *al-Khūṣar* flowing on one side of it. Mar-Juhainah[6]

[1] A kind of marble, of so soft a quality, that it can be cut and hewn like wood; it is very extensively used in building for door-posts, window-sills, arches and pavements. *See* Glossary, p. 183.

[2] Evidently from the Syriac *Beth Ṣlothā*, the prayer-house.

[3] The Arab Geographers say that the city was so called, because it connects (*waṣal*) Mesopotamia with Syria, or according to others, with al-'Irāq. But the name is probably a corruption of Mespila, as the modern city of al-Mauṣil doubtless represents this ancient city of Assyria. (Smith's *Dict.*, II. 333*b*). The city was founded in the Caliphate of 'Umar, by Harthamah ibn 'Arfajah al-Bāriqī. *See* al-Bilādhurī, p. 332.

[4] The ancient *Nineveh*. From the excavations undertaken with so much success in the neighbourhood of *Mosul*, it may fairly be presumed that the true Nineveh is represented by the mounds opposite to *Mosul*, and probably by that one which bears the local name of *Nabi Yunas*. *See* Smith's *Dict.*, Ninus.

[5] The Prophet Jonas.

[6] Marj Juhainah. According to Yāqūt (II. 168), Juhainah is the name of a large village in the neighbourhood of al-Mauṣil, on the river Tigris. It is

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lies on the Tigris, towards the 'Irāq side of al-Mauṣil; it has a considerable number of pigeon houses, and its fortress is built of gypsum and stone. The mosque is in the centre of the town. Al-Ḥadīthah is also on the Tigris, near a steep bank of the river. A number of steps lead up to the town. The mosque is near the river bank; it is semi-circular in form. The buildings are of mud, with the exception of the mosque. The town is on the east bank of the river. Ma'lathāyā lies in the direction of Āmid; it is small, but has many gardens. Its situation is along the banks of a stream. The buildings are of mud, the mosque being on a hill.

Al-Ḥasaniyyah, on a stream which approaches from Urmiyah; it is the same river over which stands the Bridge of Sanjah.[1] The mosque is in the middle of the town, and the river on one side of it. Thamānīn, a town lying on a copious stream which flows from Armenia, at the foot of Mount al-Jūdī. Wahb ibn Munabbih relates[2] that when Noah came out of the ark, he built a town which he called Thamānīn; it was the first town after the Deluge, and Noah built it after their number, a house for every one of those who were with him;[3] it was therefore the first town built in al-Jazīrah [Mesopotamia]. Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, a large town surrounded on three sides by water, the Tigris making its course between it and the mountain;[4] it is a pleasant, lovely place,

the first station on the road to Baghdād. The *Marj* is a meadow near this place.

[1] The river on which al-Ḥasaniyyah stands is called al-Khābūr. This river rises in the mountains to the north of al-Mauṣil, and flows into the Tigris, on its eastern bank, between Bāsūrīn and Faisābūr. Ad-dimishqī (p. 190) says that there is on this river one of the most wonderful bridges in the world in height and structure. This however is not the Bridge of Sanjah, the latter being on the river *Sanjah*, which flows between Ḥiṣn Manṣūr and Kaisūm, west of the Euphrates, finally falling into this river in the neighbourhood of Sumaisāṭ.

[2] Authorities of this tradition: Abū Sa'īd ibn Ḥamdān; Abū Ḥāmid al-Julūdī; Abū Hani' and his father; 'Abdu-l-Mun'im ibn Idrīs and his father; Wahb ibn Munabbih.

[3] Thamānīn means 'eighty,' which is said to be the number of the persons saved in the ark. These built for themselves houses at this place, where they settled, and hence the place was called from their number Thamānīn. A pestilence having broken out, the whole of the eighty died, with the exception of Noah and his sons. *See* Yāqūt I. 934.

[4] The city is situated on an island in the Tigris, surrounded on all sides by

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and the buildings are of stone. Its situation is on the East bank of the Tigris. It is muddy in winter. Bā'ainā<u>th</u>ā, a lovely and pleasant place, divided into twenty-five quarters, which are separated from each other by gardens and streams. There is not the like of it in al-'Irāq; while it also enjoys great plenty and low prices. Balad,[1] on the Tigris, which is here of considerable volume; it has a large number of palaces, is well-built of gypsum 140.
and stone, and its markets are broad. The mosque stands in the centre of the town. A<u>dh</u>ramah is small and in the desert; the inhabitants drink from wells, and their buildings are vaulted. Barqa'īd is much the same, but larger. Naṣībīn;[2] this town is more pleasant, and smaller but broader than al-Mauṣil; it abounds in fruits, and has good baths and stately palaces, while its people possess both wealth and intelligence. The market stretches from gate to gate, and a citadel of stone and cement commands the town. The mosque is centrally situated. Heaven protect us from the scorpions of Naṣībīn[3]! Dārā[4] is small and pleasant; an aqueduct conveys water through the whole town; it flows over the tops of houses, and after concentrating in the mosque falls in a

mountains. It has been identified with the Roman fortress of Bezabda. *See* Smith's *Dict.* I. 400*a*.

[1] An ancient city on the Tigris, seven *farsa<u>kh</u>s* above al-Mauṣil and twenty-three *farsa<u>kh</u>s* from Naṣībīn. Its old Persian name was <u>Sh</u>ahrābā<u>dh</u>. Yāqūt I. 715.

[2] The Nisibis of classical writers, a town of great antiquity situated on a small stream called al-Hirmās, about two days' journey from the Tigris.

[3] The origin of the scorpions of Naṣībīn is said to be this: Anū<u>sh</u>irwān was besieging the town, which he could not subdue by the means at his hand. He therefore thought of the following plan. He ordered his men to gather all the scorpions they could, and these they brought from a village of the name of Ṭīrān<u>sh</u>āh, in the district of <u>Sh</u>ahrazūr. Having filled glass bottles with the scorpions he hurled these on the town from ballistæ, and on their breaking the scorpions were liberated. The inhabitants were so much tormented by this, that they opened the gate of the city, which he took. Most of the scorpions are in a small hill inside the walls in a corner of the town. From this hill the scorpions spread throughout the town. The sting of these scorpions is mortal. Yāqūt IV. 787.

[4] The Daras of classical writers, a strongly fortified town on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire towards Assyria. In A.D. 574, it was taken by the Persians under Chosroes II, after a siege of six months. Procopius makes mention of a fountain of water which was distributed through the town by various channels; no one however knew whither it went on reaching the outer walls. Smith's *Dictionary of G. and R. Geog.*, Vol. I., p. 752*b*.

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neighbouring valley. The buildings are of black stones and cement. Sinjār,[1] in a waterless desert; it abounds in palm-trees, and is peopled mostly by shoe-makers, in whose quarter the mosque is. The inhabitants drink from streams of tolerably good water and from numerous springs. Ra'su-l-'Ain[2] is in a plain, the lower part of which is permeated with water, which gushes out from springs. They have a small lake, the water of which is of a depth of about two fathoms; it is so clear that were a dirham to be thrown in it, it could be seen in the bottom. Their buildings are of stone and gypsum. They also have gardens and cultivated fields. Three hundred and sixty springs mingle their waters here, making a stream which flows to ar-Raqqah.[3]

Āmid[4] is a strongly fortified town, beautiful and admirably built. It bears resemblance to the city of Anṭākiyah, and has an outer wall formed like a chair, with gates and battlements. Between this outer wall and the citadel is a large open space. The town is smaller than Anṭākiyah, and is built of hard, black stones, as also are the foundations of the houses. It has several springs west of the Tigris, and is spacious and pleasant. It is an important frontier-town of the Muslims and an impregnable stronghold. The mosque is in the centre of the town. The gates of the town are five: the Water Gate, the Mountain Gate, Bābu-r-Rūm (Gate of the Romans), the Hill Gate and the Gate

[1] The Singara of ancient geographers, a fortified post at the northern extremity of Mesopotamia, in the midst of an extremely arid country. It was held for some time by the Romans, but under the reign of Julian, the town finally passed into the hands of the Persians. *See* Smith's *Dictionary* II. 1006*b*.

[2] Called Rhesaena by the Greek Geographers. The name is originally Resh 'Ainā which means in Syriac, the head of the spring, from its situation near the sources of the Khābūr. It is still an important commercial town of the Province of Diyārbakr.

[3] This stream is the Khābūr, near the sources of which Ra'su-l-'Ain is situated. The Khābūr however does not flow to ar-Raqqah, but falls into the Euphrates at Qarqīsiya. The river of ar-Raqqah is known as *al-Balīkh*. It flows in a westerly direction from the Khābūr, and also falls into the Euphrates.

[4] The *Amida* of classical writers, and the modern *Diyār-Bakr*, on the right bank of the Tigris; it is a city of great antiquity and favourably situated for commerce. It passed successively from the Persians to the Romans, until it was finally captured by the Muslims under 'Iyāḍh ibn Ghanm, in the year 19 of the Hijrah.

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of Anas.[1] The latter is small and is serviceable in time of war. The citadel is partly built on the mountain. The Muslims have not to my knowledge at the present day a town more strongly fortified, nor an out-post of greater importance than Āmid. Mayyāfāriqīn[2] is a pleasant, well-fortified town, with battlements, an outer-wall of stone and a ditch. It is insignificant both as regards its learning and its gardens. Springs and a stream[3] supply the town with drinking-water. It is muddy in winter, and always filthy; indeed, it is the latrine of the province. Al-Hanāb[4] is fortified, having a fortress and a suburb at one end of which stands the mosque. The water supply of the inhabitants is from canals of tolerable water, and the buildings are of stone and mud. 141. The wall of the town is not formidable. Tallu Fāfān is situated in the direction of the mountain, between the Tigris and Razm.[5] It is surrounded by gardens, and prices there are moderate. The markets are roofed, and the buildings are of mud-bricks. Ḥiṣn Kaifā is a place of great plenty, possessing a strong fortress and many churches. The Tigris supplies the town with water. Al-Fār and Ḥādhiyah are smaller towns. This is all our knowledge regarding the towns of this province. With regard to Badlīs,[6] different opinions are held which we shall mention in the province of ar-Riḥāb.

Ar-Raqqah[7] is the capital of Diyār Muḍhar, on the river

[1] In C it is called Bābu-s-Sirr, "the Secret Gate," which from his description of it that it is chiefly used in time of war, appears to be the true reading.

[2] The city of Martyropolis which was the capital of Roman Armenia. It contains the tomb of Saifu-d-Daulah, the Ḥamdānite prince.

[3] Probably the river Nymphaeus, an affluent of the Tigris, now called the *Zibeneh Sū*. Abu-l-Fidā' says that a small stream flows in front of Mayyāfāriqīn, issuing from a source called 'Ain Ḥanbūṣ, not far from the town, and to the north-west of it. This stream waters the gardens of the town and penetrates to the houses.

[4] This is probably the town of Ḥānī, which Ibnu-l-Athīr, the author of *al-Lubāb*, calls Ḥanā. In the map of Kiepert not far to the east of Āmid, there is a little town which he calls Janāb, but the place is not mentioned by any ancient writer. *See* Editor's note to text.

[5] The river Razm, or Wādi-r-Razm, is evidently the *Batman Sū* of our maps. *See* Le Strange's *Description of Mesopotamia*, p. 263, and also Yāqūt, II. 776.

[6] The Bitlis of our maps, in Armenia. Some geographers consider it a city of Mesopotamia, but it properly belongs to Armenia. *See* Text, p. 375.

[7] Ar-Raqqah, called also al-Baiḍhā', or the 'White City' occupies the site of

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Euphrates. It has a broad wall on the top of which two horsemen can ride abreast. The town is not large and has two gates, but it is pleasant and delightful. It is of ancient foundation, and has good markets and many villages and gardens. It abounds in Nature's blessings, and yields the best soap and olives in plenty. It has an admirable mosque and pleasant baths, while the markets are roofed and shaded, and its many palaces stuccoed. It has a famous name in both provinces, with Syria on its border and the Euphrates by its side. It is also a place of much learning; but the Arabs surround it on all sides, and the roads leading to it are difficult. Ar-Raqqatu-l-Muḥtariqah (Raqqah, the Burnt), is near to it. It is now depopulated and ruinous. Ar-Rāfiqah is the suburb of ar-Raqqah. It has its mosque in the Goldsmiths' quarter, while that of ar-Raqqah stands in the Linen-drapers' quarter. In this mosque there are two jujube-trees and a mulberry-tree. Close by there is a small mosque supported by a single column. Ḥarrān[1] is a delightful city commanded by a stone fortress; it resembles Īliyā [Jerusalem] in the beauty of its style of building. It has a canal, the source of which is unknown.[2] The mosque is situated at one side. Their fields are watered from wells. It produces cotton of an excellent quality. The inhabitants of Ḥarrān are proverbial for the accuracy of their weights. Ar-Ruhā[3] is on the model of aṭ-Ṭīb, and is fortified. The mosque which is a squalid building stands apart. Ar-Ruhā has a magnificent church with arched galleries and overlaid with mosaic. It is one of the wonders of the world. The district of al-Khābūr has

the ancient Nicephorium, on the river Euphrates. In 155 A.H. al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsid Caliph, built a new city at a distance of a few hundred yards from ar-Raqqah. The new city was called ar-Rāfiqah, and was also on the Euphrates. When ar-Raqqah fell to ruin, this town took its name, and is to this day a large and prosperous city. During the later years of his reign, Hārūnu-r-Rashīd resided chiefly at ar-Raqqah.

[1] The ancient Carrhae, in the N.-W. part of Mesopotamia. In Sacred history the place is called Haran or Charran.

[2] Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 53) says that the inhabitants get their supply of drinking water from a subterranean canal fed by springs situated outside the town.

[3] The ancient Edessa and the modern *Orfah* or *Urfah*, in the northern extremity of Mesopotamia. It was situated on the river Scirtus, now *Daisan*, a small tributary of the Euphrates. *See* Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.*, I. 806*a*.

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for its capital 'Arābān, an elevated hill surrounded by gardens. 142.
Prices there are moderate, and there are many cultivated fields. All the other towns are spacious. The chief city in the district of the Euphrates is ar-Raḥbah, a large town on the desert side. It is in the shape of a *ṭailasān* [*i.e.*, semi-circular], and has a citadel and a suburb. The remaining towns all lie towards the desert, and are in a flourishing condition.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THIS PROVINCE.

The CLIMATE and CUSTOMS of this province are akin to the climate and customs of Syria, and similar to those of al-'Irāq. There are hot regions in it where the date palm flourishes, such as Sinjār and the towns of the Euphrates. The district of Āmid is cold on account of its proximity to the mountains. Of the towns of this province, the healthiest in climate is al-Mauṣil. Most of the buildings are of stone. I know not of any water in the province that is bad, of any river valley that is pestilential, nor of any food that proves undigestible. There are no Magians in the whole province, while the Sabians have their head-quarters only in ar-Ruhā and Ḥarrān. No lake is to be found in this province, nor does it border on any sea. Its preachers are obscure men, and there is no market of any account. As regards their religious sects, they are followers of traditional law and corporate authority,[1] with the exception of 'Ānah which is full of Mu'tazilites. Of the rationalists, the sects of Abū Ḥanīfah and ash-Shāfi'ī alone are to be found.[2]

[1] See *ante*, p. 55 and note 3. *Sunnat wa jamā'at.*

[2] See *ante*, p. 59 n 1. In his life of ash-Shāfi'ī (*Tahdhību-l-Asmā'*, p. 56), an-Nawawī states that ash-Shāfi'ī founded his School on the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the Ijmā', and also on *ar-Rāy*, or reason; but he also says that he was the great opponent of *Ahlu-r-Rāy*, understanding thereby those who freely followed reason in their legal decisions, and that he was a pillar of strength to the traditionists. Probably this fact made ash-Shahrastānī write that ash-Shāfi'ī was of the traditionists, and that only the Ḥanafites were 'Reasoners.' The text under reference leaves no doubt, however, that al-Muqaddasī considered the Shāfi'ites as reasoners. He considers as reasoners also the Mālikites and the Dā'ūdians; in fact all the sects who have a School of *Fiqh*, and as such the Shī'ah also (See *Glossary*, under راي p. 243). The translation of Text, p. 96, lines 3 and 4, will therefore have to be amended as follows: The rural populations round Ṣan'ā' and the adjacent parts are fanatical heretics, as also are the country people of 'Umān and the rest of the Ḥijāz. The *Ahlu-r-Rāy* in 'Umān, Ḥajar and Ṣa'dah are of the Shī'ah sect, etc.

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There are also some Ḥanbalites, and an appreciable number of Shī'ah. There are no heresies to divide the hearts of the people, nor do their doctors engage in scholastic divinity. They prefer the reading system of 'Abdu-llah ibu 'Āmir. Whilst I was at Zabīd, the Bajāt of that town happened to quarrel with the Abyssinians,[1] and I was deputed by the Qāḍhī to lead them at the sunset and night prayers. One day he said to me, "The men praise you, but I blame you." I asked, "For what? may God strengthen the Qāḍhī." He said, "In jurisprudence you follow the school of the Kūfians, why do you not also read according to their system of reading, and what has inclined you to the system of Ibn 'Āmir?" I replied, "Four points." "And what are they?" he said. I answered, "The first point is this: Ibn Mujāhid[2] has related three traditions concerning Ibn 'Āmir, the first is that he read the Qur'ān under the tutorship of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān; the second that he heard the Qur'ān from 'Uthmān while still a boy; and the third that he read it under a person who had himself read under 'Uthmān. Now, this cannot be said
143. of any other one of the masters of reading, between every one of whom and 'Alī, 'Abdu-llah,[3] Ubayy[4] or Ibn 'Abbās, there are two men or three. He, therefore, between whom and 'Uthmān, whose version of the Qur'ān is that unanimously accepted by the Muslims, and whose compilation all approve and use, there is but one man, is worthier of being followed in reading than another between whom and a man whose compilation is never used, and whose version of the Qur'ān is not universally accepted, there are two or three men. Indeed, I have examined the old copies of the Qur'ān which are in Syria, Egypt and al-Ḥijāz, and which are ascribed to 'Uthmān, and I found them not to differ in the slightest from the readings of Ibn 'Āmir. The second point is this: I found the reading of Ibn 'Āmir systematical. If he uses

1 See *ante*, p. 154, l. 7.

2 Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Mūsā Ibn Mujāhid, the Reader, native of Baghdād; born in the year 245 H., died in 324 H.

3 'Abdu-llah Ibn Mas'ūd. See *ante*, p. 178, note 2.

4 Abu-l-Mundhir, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, al-Anṣārī, one of the Prophet's companions who fought under him at Badr. Muḥammad is reported to have said, "The best reader among my followers is Ubayy ibn Ka'b." Ubayy died at al-Madīnah, before the year 30 of the Hijrah, in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān. Others say he died in the Caliphate of 'Umar. See *Nawawī*, p. 140.

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the *t*, or gives a harder pronunciation to a word, he does the same in all similar words, whereas others say 'in such and such a chapter it is a *t*, and in such and such a chapter it is a *y*, and read in one place *saddan* and in another place *suddan*; and again, *kharājan* and *kharjan*, *kurhan* and *karhan*, and many other similar instances. Now, as one who had applied himself to the acquisition of the science of the law, I saw this reading easier to me and nearer to the methods of this science. The third point is that I found that all other readers have from three to thirty different readings related as heard from them, whereas Ibn 'Āmir has only Yaḥyā [1] to relate from him. The differences in his reading are as heard from Yaḥyā, Ibn Dhakwān [2] and Hishām ibn 'Ammār [3] having both read under the tutorship of Yaḥyā.[4] From this I concluded that he had a sound knowledge, and was sure of his reading. The fourth point is this: I am from Syria; I have separated from my countrymen in following another School of law, and I did not wish to separate from them in reading also, especially when I am convinced of the superiority of this system of reading." The Qāḍhī then said, "Excellent, O Abū 'Abdi-llāh! How well hast thou expressed thyself! This reading has now, indeed, risen high in my estimation after I had been indifferent to it." If an opponent were to say, 'And has not Ibn 'Āmir contradicted himself in more than one place?' I reply; 'Had he not contradicted we would have been indifferent to his reading, and would have thought of him various thoughts, because reading cannot be learnt by rules; as he did contradict, we knew that he is following an authority, and relating from him; but his relation actually proved to be consistent with established rules.' Were he to add, 'And have not the early Muslims attacked 144
him, and pronounced him to be at fault in a number of words?' I reply, 'No one of the masters of reading has been free from attack. Have they not also attacked 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah in the word *ḍha'f*,[5]

[1] Yaḥyā ibnu-l-Ḥārith adh-Dhimārī, died 145 A.H. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorâns*, p. 288.

[2] Abū 'Amr 'Abdu-llah b. Aḥmad b. Bashīr Ibn Dhakwān, born on the day of 'Āshūrā' 173, died in Damascus in 242 H. Nöldeke, p. 296.

[3] Abu-l-Walīd Hishām b. 'Ammār, born 153. He was preacher of Damascus where he died in 245 or 244. Nöldeke, p. 296.

[4] Their immediate tutor was Ayyūb b. Tamīm, a pupil of Yaḥyā. Yaḥyā died before either of them was born.

[5] 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah read *ḍha'fun*; all other readers, *ḍhu'fan*. Baiḍhāwī, Qur'ān VIII. 67.

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and Abū 'Amr in *nansa'hā*[1] and in *hāḏhaini*[2]? The Chief men of learning have defended them all, and pronounced their opinions to be right; indeed, none but an ignorant man would attack the masters.' If he contends that Ibn 'Āmir is an obscure man, and his reading not well-known, I answer: 'Had Ibn 'Āmir been in al-Ḥijāz, or in al-'Irāq, he would not have been obscure, nor would his reading have been rarely adopted; but as he was in Egypt, apart from the world, few frequented him and few related from him. Was not al-Auzā'ī one of the Chief Doctors of the law, and has not his system become lost for this very reason? Had these two men been on the route of the pilgrims, the inhabitants of both east and west would have diffused their systems.' If he were to say again, "Art thou not of those who have met the masters of knowledge and piety, and do not most of them forbid individual readings, and prefer the reading of the generality of people?' I answer, 'Yes, but when I had gone on my travels and met the master readers, I desired to read under them, and to profit by their learning. Now, when I used to read according to the system in current use, they used to make light of me, and to refer me to their disciples; but when I read after an individual system, they attended to me personally.'

WATERS are plentiful, most of them being from the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Khābūr. The latter river is formed from springs which collect and flow into the Euphrates.[3] As to the origin of the Tigris of al-'Irāq, it issues from beneath the Cave of the Dark Regions,[4] a stream of greenish water. In its course it is joined by several rivers, the last of them being the river Zāb. Near its source, the Tigris cannot turn more than a single mill. The first river to unite with it is Nahru-dh-Dhīb,[5] next the river

[1] Ibn Kathīr and Abū 'Amr read *nansa'hā* for *nunsihā*, Qur'ān II. 100. See Baiḍhāwī.

[2] Abū 'Amr reads *hāḏhaini* for *hāḏhāni*, Qur'ān XX. 66. Baiḍhāwī.

[3] The sources of the Khābūr are near the town of Rāsu-l-'Ain, where the waters of more than three hundred limpid springs unite to form its course. The Khābūr flows into the Euphrates at Qarqīsiyā.

[4] *See* below, Text, 146. According to Yāqūt II. 551, the Tigris issues from a *dark cave* at a place called Halūras and distant two and a half days from the town of Āmid.

[5] Ibn Serapion (Section VII) describes Nahru-dh-Dhīb, or the Wolf River, as flowing through the district of Arzan, and falling into the Tigris in latitude 36° 30′. Yāqūt (II. 552) calls the river of Arzan *Wādi-s-Sarbaṭ*. Al-Muqad-

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ar-Rams, then al-Masūliyāt. Below this it crosses al-Kārūkhah. 145
It then receives the river Sarbaṭ, the spring of Tallu Fāfān, Nahru-r-Razb,[1] and lastly az-Zāb, which is the boundary of the province of al-'Irāq. A saying has it that "The Euphrates is blessed, and the Tigris accursed."

The province yields many products which form articles of commerce. From al-Mauṣil are obtained: grain, honey, *namaksūd* (dried meat), coal, fats, cheese, manna, sumach,[2] pomegranate-grains, pitch, iron, metal waterpots, knives, wooden arrows, superior pickled fish[3] and chains. From Sinjār: thin-shelled almonds, pomegranate-grains, reed and sumach. From Naṣībīn: chesnuts, a kind of nut larger than a hazelnut and sweeter to the taste and not round, dried fruit, scales, ink-stands, and fulling bats. From ar-Raqqah, soap, olive-oil and reed-pens. From Ḥarrān, the preserve called *qubbaiṭ*,[4] honey of bees in wine-jars, cotton and scales. From al-Jazīrah [Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar], nuts, almonds, clarified butter and excellent horses. From al-Ḥasaniyyah, cheese, partridges, chickens, curdled whey, dried fruit and raisins. From Ma'lathāyā, various kinds of milk, coal, grapes, fresh fruit, hemp-seed, hemp and dried meat. From Balad, biestings in pots, which are carried in boats; each pot is sold for five *dānaqs*,[5] and contains five *manas*.[6] From ar-Raḥbah, excellent and delicious quinces. From Āmid, woollen and linen Greek cloths on the pattern of Sicilian cloth. The SPECIALITIES of this province are: horses, soap, chains, leather straps, and the *qubbaiṭ*, cotton and scales of

dasī, however, mentions the river Sarbaṭ as distinct from Nahru-dh-Dhīb. The next two names, ar-Rams and al-Masūliyāt, are evidently corrupt and probably, as the editor suggests, stand for the rivers Ṣalb and Sātīdamā of Yāqūt (II. 551), Nahru-dh-Dhīb being the same in that case as the stream he calls Nahru-l-Kilāb.

[1] The river called Wādi-r-Razm. Yāqūt (II. 776) describes it as rising in Armenia and flowing into the Tigris near the town of Tallu Fāfān. From this point the Tigris is navigable for boats, owing to the large increase in its volume from the waters of this river. Wādi-r-Razm has been identified with the *Buhtan Sū* of our maps, which is often called the Eastern Tigris. Guy Le Strange, p. 263.

[2] The *rhus coriaria* of Linn.

[3] *Ṭirrīkh*, small fish prepared and salted.

[4] A species of sweetmeat, made with carob-sugar, almonds, and pistachio nuts.

[5] About 6½ English pence.

[6] The *mana* is a weight of two pounds.

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Ḥarrān. MEASURES OF CAPACITY. These are: the *mudd*, the *makkūk*, the *qafīz*, and the *kārah*. The *makkūk* contains 15 *raṭls*, the
146 *mudd* being one-fourth of it; and the *kārah* is 240 *raṭls*, the *qafīz* being one-fourth of it. The *makkūk* is therefore one-fourth of a *qafīz*. The *raṭls* of this province are the same as the Baghdād *raṭls*; and the *farq* is also identical with that of Baghdād, namely, 36 *raṭls*. The DIALECT of the people is good and more correct than that of Syria, as they are Arabs. The best is that of al-Mauṣil. The inhabitants of this city are more handsome of face, and the town itself more healthy in climate, than the rest of the province. It contains men of most of the tribes, but the greatest number are Ḥārithīs.

Of SACRED PLACES there are several. In the country round al-Mauṣil are the Mosque of Jonas and other places connected with his history. Near Old Nūnawā is a place known as the Hill of Repentance (Tallu-Taubah),[1] on the top of which there is a mosque, as well as houses for devotees. It was built by Jamīlah, daughter of Nāṣiru-d-Daulah,[2] who endowed it with magnificent properties. It is said that seven visits to it equal a *ḥajj* pilgrimage. It is visited on Thursday nights. It is the place whither the people of Jonas repaired when they were certain of divine

[1] *See* Yāqūt I. 866. It is a hill opposite the town of al-Mauṣil, on the eastern side of the Tigris. It is so called as the place where the people of Nineveh repented of their sins on signs of divine wrath manifesting themselves. There was on the hill a temple dedicated to the worship of one of their deities, which they demolished, breaking the idol and burying it under the ruins. At the time Yāqūt wrote there was a magnificently built shrine on the top of the hill, which he says was erected by one of the slaves of the Saljūq Sulṭāns, who ruled as governor of al-Mauṣil before the time of al-Bursuq. Al-Bursuq was a *Mamlūk* belonging to the Sulṭān Muḥammad Ṭughrul Beg (the first monarch of the Saljūq dynasty, 385-455 A.H.). He held a high rank under this dynasty, and was one of their most remarkable and eminent emirs. Ibn Khall., De Slane, Vol. I. 228.

[2] Jamīlah, daughter of Nāṣiru-d-Daulah Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdi-llāh Ibn Ḥamdān, Governor of al-Mauṣil from about 314 to 356 A.H. Nāṣiru-d-Daulah died in 358, and was buried at Tallu Taubah. His daughter, Jamīlah, is famous for the pilgrimage which she undertook in 366, and which surpassed in splendour even that of Zubaidah, wife of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd. The sad end of Jamīlah, who had to drown herself in order to be saved from a forced life of dishonour, is touched upon by ath-Tha'ālibī in his *Laṭā'ifu-l-Ma'ārif*, p. 56. The man who forced her to this course was no other than 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah Buwaih, who had a grudge against her for having refused to marry him from a sense of her superior birth.

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punishment. At a distance of half a *farsakh* from this place is the Spring of Jonas.[1] Outside the town of Balad, also, there is a spring out of which it is said that Jonas came. The water of this spring is sought as a cure for leprosy. There is a mosque in his name here, and there also is the place of the gourd-tree.[2] At a distance of one *farsakh* from Mayyāfāriqīn is Dair Tūmā[3] (Monastery of St. Thomas), in which is the body of a man standing erect upon his feet, in a dried up state, who is supposed to have been one of the apostles of Jesus. The fortress of Dhu-l-Qarnain is on the way to ar-Riḥāb. It is strong and well preserved. Underneath this fortress is the Cave of Darkness, which Dhu-l-Qarnain entered, and which, Maslamah, son of 'Abdu-l-Malik,[4] attempted to enter with torches and candles, but had to retreat as the lights were extinguished. Of the WONDERS in this province, is a spring at Naṣībīn from which flows white lime, which is used as ordinary lime for baths and houses. In the district round al-Mauṣil is the Monastery of Hydrophobia,[5] where persons bitten by a rabid dog are taken. After a stay of fifty days with the monks of the monastery, a cure is effected by the grace of God, the Most High. In this district also is a spring, a draught of whose water kills a man in three days. At a distance of a *barīd*[6] from al-Mauṣil is the village of Bā'ashīqā,[7] where a plant grows which has the virtue of curing

[1] In which he ordered the people of Nineveh to purify themselves. *See* Ibn Baṭūṭah II. 137.

[2] Qur'ān xxxvii. 146. See above page 221 note 2.

[3] Yāqūt, Dair Mar Tūmā, Vol. II. 697.

[4] 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān, fifth of the Umayyad Caliphs, 65–86 A.H. Maslamah was a brave and energetic prince, who commanded many expeditions against the Greeks, from the year of his father's accession to the throne to the time of his own death in 120 A.H.

[5] Dairu-l-Kalab. Yāqūt (II. 690) says that the monks of this monastery successfully treat cases of hydrophobia, but that after forty days from the bite, they cannot effect any cure. He places the monastery between al-Mauṣil and Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, *i.e.*, to the north-west of al-Mauṣil, in the direction of Bā'adhrā, a village in the Mauṣil district.

[6] A measure of length, equalling six miles.

[7] According to Yāqūt (I. 472), Bā'ashīqā lies at three or four *farsakhs* from al-Mauṣil, on the Eastern side of the Tigris. A stream flows through the middle of this little town, irrigating its gardens and serving as motive power for several mills. The trees that mostly abound in its gardens are the olive, the palm, and the orange tree. It has a large market, where there are many baths and a large house for the sale of cloths. Most of its inhabitants are Christians.

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piles or scrofula in those who tear it up by the roots. Moreover, were a person afflicted with these diseases to send a man with a
147 dirham and a large needle to a certain family there who inherit this power, by any of them simply carrying the needle to where that plant is and uprooting it in the name of the diseased, the latter is cured even though he were in ash-Shāsh,[1] while the man appropriates the dirham for his own use. It used to be said that the wonders of the world are three: the Pharos of Alexandria, the Bridge of Sanjah and the Church of ar-Ruhā; but when the Masjidu-l-Aqṣā[2] was built, it was substituted for the church; and when this mosque itself was demolished by the earthquake, the Mosque of Damascus was substituted in its place. The Bridge of Sanjah here mentioned is at five *farsakhs* from Mount al-Jūdī;[3] it is large and lofty and is connected with the mountain, being supported on a latticed stone, so that when the water overflows its top it begins to sway.

It is important that we should also give an account of al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah [Constantinople], as the Muslims possess a house there, in which they meet for the public profession of their faith. As many conflicting and false statements are current with regard to this place, as well as about the City itself, its dimensions and its architecture, I have thought fit to represent it to the eye, and to make it clear to the mind; and to mention the different routes to it, as the Muslims are in need of this for their purposes in the ransom of captives, the despatch of messages, and in warlike expeditions and commerce:—Know that when Maslamah, son of 'Abdu-l-Malik, invaded the country of the Greeks,[4] and entered this

[1] In Transoxiana.

[2] The Mosque of Jerusalem, built by 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān. It was partially destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of al-Mahdī (158–169 A.H.).

[3] The bridge which is counted among the wonders of the world is correctly stated by our author to be the Bridge of Sanjah; but he has confounded this bridge with another, which stands over the Khābūrn-l-Ḥasaniyyah. It is the latter bridge which he describes here. The Bridge of Sanjah as described by Yāqūt (III. 162) is one single arch, measuring two hundred paces, and built of chiselled stones, ten yards in length and five in height. The river of Sanjah is a large stream, the bottom of which is of quicksand, so that no one is ever able to ford it. *See* also above, page 226 note 1.

[4] The Arabs laid siege to Constantinople, under Maslamah soon after the accession of Leo III. This memorable siege, the third by the Arabs, lasted just two years, from the 15th of August, 718, to the 15th of the same month in 720.

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metropolis, he imposed as a condition on the Roman Dog[1] to build a house opposite his palace on the racecourse, for the residence of grandees and noblemen who might be taken prisoners, so as to be under his personal protection and care. He consented to this, and built Dāru-l-Balāṭ. The Balāṭ[2] itself is a place at the back of the racecourse, where royal brocade is manufactured. Constantinople is about the size of al-Baṣrah, or smaller; and the buildings are all of stone. It is fortified as other towns; and is impregnable, with a single fortress only. The sea bathes it on one side. The racecourse is on the banks of it. Dāru-l-Balāṭ and the Royal Palace are in a line, with the racecourse between them. The doors of the two buildings are facing each other. In the centre of the racecourse is a platform surrounded by steps. 148
None of the Muslims may reside in Dāru-l-Balāṭ, unless he be a man of rank. They are maintained by the Government, and are well cared for and allowed to promenade; whilst the rest of the Muslim prisoners, who are commoners, are reduced to slavery and are employed on different works. The prudent man, therefore, is he who, when asked about his profession, does not disclose it. Captives are allowed sometimes to trade with each other and to profit themselves. This people never force any of their prisoners to eat flesh of swine, nor do they bore the nose or slit the tongue. From the palace of the Dog to Dāru-l-Balāṭ there extends a Causeway on which is the figure of a horse in bronze. The inhabitants meet at stated times for sports and games. The name of the king in these games is Wainaṭwā, and the name of the chief minister Brāsiyāna.[3] If they desire to draw an augury from these games, they divide in two parties and start horses round the platform in a race. If the horses of the Dog's party are the winners, they say that the Greeks will be victorious and then shout, Wainaṭwā! Wainaṭwā! but if the horses of the Vizier's party should win, they say the Muslims will be the victors and then shout Brāsiyānā! Brāsiyānā! and would go to the Muslim prisoners and bestow gifts on them and make them presents, as they have gained the victory. The city has good

1 The Emperor of Constantinople!

2 The word *al-Balāṭ* is a corruption of the Latin 'Palatium,' and may be translated the 'Royal Residence' or 'Court.'

3 This alludes to the factions called Πρασιανοι and Οὐενετοι. Editor's note.

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markets, and prices there are moderate and fruits abundant. In the towns of Bithynia[1] also there are Muslims, as well as in Ma'dinu-n-Nuḥās[2] [the Copper Mine]. There are also a few Muslims in Aṭrābazund.[3] The most direct route to al-Qusṭanṭiniyyah is through this province, hence we have described it in it. The frontier-town of this province was Malaṭyah[4] and its townships, which have now been destroyed by the enemy.

DISTANCES ALONG THE HIGH ROADS. From al-Mauṣil to Marjuhainah, or to Balad, or to al-Maḥlabiyyah,[5] or to Mazāri'ī, one stage in every instance. Then from Marjuhainah to al-Ḥadiṯhah
149 one stage; thence to al-Buqai'ah one stage; and thence to as-Sinn[6] one stage. And from Balad to Barqa'īd one stage; thence to Adhramah one stage; thence to al-Mūnisah[7] one stage; thence to Naṣībīn one stage; and thence to Dārā[8] one stage. And from al-Maḥlabiyyah to aṣh-Shaḥḥājiyyah one stage; thence to Tall-A'far one stage; and thence to Sinjār[9] one stage. And from Mazāri'ī to Ma'laṯhāyā one stage; thence to al-Ḥasaniyyah one stage; thence to Thamānīn one stage; thence to Jāzīrat Ibn 'Umar one stage; and thence to Tallu-Fāfān one stage. From al-Mauṣil to Shahrazūr[10] 60 *farsakhs*. From Āmid[11] to Mayyāfāriqīn one stage; thence to Arzan[12] one stage; thence to Masjid

1 Reading البتن or البثن for التبن.

2 Described in *Jahān Numā*, p. 70.

3 The ancient Trapezus, now called *Tarabosan* or *Trebizond*.

4 The City of Melitene. Captured by the Greeks in A.H. 322.

5 A small town between al-Mauṣil and Sinjār, the capital of al-Farj, a district of Tall-A'far. Yāqūt IV. 428.

6 The distances in Ibn Khurdādhbah between as-Sinn and al-Mauṣil are as follows: as-Sinn to al-Ḥadiṯhah 12 *farsakhs*; thence to Banī Ṭamyān 7 *far.*; and thence to al-Mauṣil 7 *far.*

7 A village with two running streams. It is one of the halting-places for caravans between al-Mauṣil and Naṣībīn. Ibn Khurdādhbah (p. 95) calls the first station on leaving Naṣībīn Tallu-Farāshah.

8 Distances in Ibn Khurdādhbah between al-Mauṣil and ar-Raqqah:—To Balad 7 *far.* Bā'aināṯhā 6 *far.* Barqa'īd 6 *far.* Adhramah 6 *far.* Tallu-Farāshah 5 *far.* Naṣībīn 4 *far.* Dārā 5 *far.* Kafartūṯhā 7 *far.* Rās 'Ain 7 *far.* al-Jārūd 5 *far.* Ḥiṣn Maslamah 6 *far.* Bājarwān 7 *far.* ar-Raqqah 3 *far.*

9 The distance from Tall-A'far to Sinjār is 7 *far.*

10 In the province of al-Jibāl, in the Rayy district.

11 From Āmid to Mayyāfāriqīn 5 *far.*, and thence to Arzan 7 *far.*

12 A town of Armenia, on the river Sarbaṭ. It is without a wall, but has a large, strong fortress. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 76 *k*.

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Uwais one stage; thence to al-Ma'din one stage; and thence to Badlīs one stage. From Āmid to Shimshāṭ[1] one stage; thence to Tallu-Ḥūm one stage; thence to Jarnān one stage; thence to Bāmaqrā one stage; thence to Jullāb one stage; thence to ar-Ruhā 2 *barīds*; thence to Ḥarrān, the same; thence to Bājarwān one stage; and thence to ar-Raqqah, half a stage. From ar-Raḥbah to Qarqīsiyā one stage; and thence to ad-Dāliyah, or to Bīrā,[2] one stage. From Qarqīsiyā to Madyan[3] one stage; and 150.
thence to as-Sukair one stage. From Āmid to Tallu-Ḥaur one stage, thence to Malaṭīn one stage; thence to Ṭabūs one stage; thence to Shimshāṭ one stage; thence to al-Fa'ūniyah one stage; thence to Ḥiṣn Ziyād[4] one stage; thence to Malaṭīn[5] one stage; thence to 'Arqah one stage; thence to aṣ-Ṣafṣāf one stage; thence to ar-Rummānah one stage; thence to Samandū 2 stages; thence to Marj Qaisāriyyah one stage; thence to Anqirah,[6] four long stages; thence to Jasr Shāghir,[7] in the Country of Ibnu-l-Malātī, 3 stages; thence to al-Niqumūdhiyyah[8] one stage; thence to Mal'abu-l-Malik (the King's Theatre or Gymnasium), one stage; thence to Ḥārifah one stage; and thence to al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah one stage. The following is another route:—From Mayyāfāriqīn to Mūsh[9] 4 stages; thence to Qunb (?) one stage; thence to Sinn-Nuḥās one stage. The latter station is at the

[1] Ibn Khurdādhbah:—Āmid to Shimshāṭ 7 *far.* Tallu-Jufr 5 *far.* Jarnān 6 *far.* Bāmaqdā 5 *far.* Jullāb 7 *far.* ar-Ruhā 4 *far.* Ḥarrān 4 *far.* Tallu-Maḥrā 4 *far.* Bājarwān 7 *far.* ar-Raqqah 3 *far.*

[2] The town of *Birtha*, which according to the probable conjecture of Ritter represents the modern town of ad-Dair. Editor's note.

[3] In Ibn Khurdādhbah *al-Fudain*, in Idrīsī *an-Nahrain*. Ibn Khur. mentions two stations between Qarqīsiyā and Sukairu-l-'Abbās, Mākisīn which is on the Khābūr and is 7 *far.* distant from ar-Raqqah, and al-Fudain, which is also on the Khābūr and is 6 *far.* distant from Mākisīn and 5 from Sukairu-l-'Abbās.

[4] The town of Khartabirt, now called Kharpūt.

[5] The same as Maḥaṭyah, or Melitene.

[6] The ancient Ancyra, and the modern Angora.

[7] The Sangarius.

[8] The ancient Nicomedeia, the capital of Bithynia, on the north-eastern coast of the Gulf of Astacenus, a part of the Propontis. (Smith II. 425 *a*). According to Ibn Khurdādhbah, Nicomedia was 60 miles distant from Constantinople.

[9] The *Mush* of our maps, in Armenia.

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crossing of the roads of Qālīqalā, Malāzkird,[1] Mūsh and al-Khālidāt, from which it is distant 2 stages. From al-Khālidāt to Samūqamūsh is the same distance; thence to Qalūniyatu-l-'Aufī[2] 2 stages; thence to Nafshāriyah[3] 4 stages; thence to the Pass of the Martyrs ['Aqabatu-sh-Shuhadā'], one stage; thence to al-Aflāghūniyah[4] one stage; thence to as-Sūnishah one stage; thence to Namūliṣah (?) one stage; thence to the Capital of Ibnu-s-Sawānīṭī one stage; thence to Dūsaniyah one stage; thence to Bāḥūriyah (?) one stage; thence to Qaṭābūlī, where a body of Muslim troops are stationed, one stage; thence to the
151. Capital of Ibnu-l-Malātī 2 stages. Here is a house where hospitality is offered for Muslims. Thence to the Fresh Water Lake [al-Buḥairatu-l-Ḥulwah] one stage; and thence to Ḥisn Ṣā'is, one stage.[5]

THE PROVINCE OF SYRIA [ASH-SHAM].

Syria is a splendid country, the Land of prophets, the abode of righteous men, the home of the Saints![6] It is a centre of attraction to the virtuous; and contains the First Qiblah,[7] the place of the

[1] The Manāzjird or Manāzkird of Yāqūt (IV. 748), in Armenia. It is marked in Keith-Johnston's map of Turkey in Asia, as Melazgerd, Kd.

[2] Yāqūt, Qalūniyah, IV. 168.

[3] Neo-Cæsareia in Pontus.

[4] Paphlagonia, in the north of Asia Minor.

[5] Many of the places here cannot be determined, the whole route being, as the Editor says, very obscure.

[6] *Al-Abdāl*, or the substitutes. Certain righteous persons of whom the world is never destitute, when one dies God substituting another in his place. Their number is seventy, of whom forty reside in Syria, and thirty elsewhere. According to some persons they are so called as the substitutes and successors of the prophets. They are known to God alone. In a tradition of 'Alī it is said that the *Abdāl* are all in Syria; that the *Nujabā'*, who are *Walīs* of a rank inferior to the *Abdāl*, are in Egypt; and that the *'Aṣā'ib* are in al-'Irāq, meaning by the last, *Companies assembled for wars*: or, because coupled with the *Abdāl* and the *Nujabā'*, *a company of devotees*. *See* Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, under بدل and عصب.

[7] Jerusalem. For sixteen months from his first arrival at al-Madīnah, Muḥammad prayed towards the temple of Jerusalem, when the Qiblah was changed to the Ka'bah. Before that he had no Qiblah in particular. *See* Wherry's *Commentary* I. 340 ff.

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Resurrection[1] and of the Night Journey,[2] the Holy Land, and many strong frontier posts and cities and sacred hills. There are the places to which Abraham emigrated,[3] and also his tomb;[4] and there also are the habitations of Job and his well;[5] the oratory of David and his gate;[6] the wonders of Solomon and his cities;[7] the

[1] The place of final judgment is believed to be a plain on the Mount of Olives, near the Church of the Ascension. The plain, in consequence of this belief, has received the name of as-Sāhirah, in reference to Qur'ān lxxix. 14. *See* below, p. 172 of Text.

[2] The Temple of Jerusalem, to which Muḥammad was transported by night from Makkah, and from which he was carried through the seven heavens to the presence of God. *See* Wherry's notes on the night-journey, in Vol. III of his Commentary, p. 55.

[3] Syria as a whole is spoken of as the *muhājar* of Ibrāhīm in a tradition of the Prophet, meaning, *the country to which he emigrated*. The *mahājir* of Abraham in Syria are the places where he lived during his sojourn there.

[4] Abraham was buried in Hebron, now called from the name given by the Muslims to the patriarch, al-Khalīl. The tomb is shewn to this day.

[5] According to an-Nawawī (p. 170) and al-Mas'ūdī (I. 91), Job inhabited the country of Ḥaurān and al-Bathaniyyah (Batanaea), between Damascus and al-Jābiyah. His tomb is very well known, in a village near Nawā, the capital of Ḥaurān. There is also at this village a running spring, which is said to be the fountain which God discovered for him, and in which he bathed and so recovered his former health and beauty. (*See* Qur'ān xxxviii. 41). Job's well, however, is in the outskirts of Jerusalem, near the spring of Sulwān (Siloam). *See* Text, p. 171.

[6] We read in Mas'ūdī (I. 109), that David built a temple for the worship of God in Kūr Salām, *i.e.*, Jerusalem. "This temple," he says, "is called the Oratory (*Miḥrāb*) of David, and still exists, 322 of the Hijrah. It is the highest building in the city, the Dead Sea and the Jordan being both visible from the top of it." The *Miḥrāb* of David is referred to in Qur'ān xxxviii. 20.

The Gate of David is one of the gates of the Masjid u-l-Aqṣā, and will be mentioned hereafter.

[7] Yāqūt (IV. 593) describes some of the wonderful things which Solomon executed in Baitū-l-Maqdis. He built, he says, the chamber in which was the Hanging Chain, which the innocent could reach by the hand, and the guilty could not. This, however, was in the time of David, not Solomon. (*See* above p. 80 note 4). Another wonderful thing of his was a room which he built and polished like a mirror, and which had the effect of differentiating between the wicked and the pious, for the pious had their images reflected on the wall of the room in white, while the wicked were reflected in black. He also had in a corner of his room an ebony stick which, although quite harmless when touched by any of the children of the prophets, burned the hands of all others who touched it.

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burying-place of both Isaac and his mother;[1] the birth-place of the Messiah and his cradle;[2] the village of Saul and his river;[3] the place where Goliath was slain, and also his castle;[4] the well of Jeremiah and his prison;[5] the place of prayer of Uriah and his house;[6] the dome of Muḥammad and his gate;[7] the rock of

Among the cites of Solomon, our author mentions Ba'labakk (Heliopolis) and Tadmur (Palmyra). Text, p. 186.

[1] In Hebron, in the same cave where Abraham is buried. Ibn Baṭūṭah I. 116.

[2] In Jerusalem. *See* Ibn Baṭūṭah I. 124. Jesus speaks in his cradle, Qur'ān III. 46. According to Yāqūt (I. 779), the cradle was in Bethlehem.

[3] The native place of Saul was Gibeah, called also Gibeah of Benjamin and Gibeah of Saul. It was nigh to Rāmah, and on the high road to Nābulus between Jerusalem and Rāmah (Smith's D. of G. and R. G. I. 1001 *a*). No Muslim writer gives the name of Saul's birth-place, although Yāqūt states (III. 341) that some believe he was from Duzdān, in the district of Shahrazūr.

The river referred to is said to be the Jordan. According to the story told in the Qur'ān (II. 249), when Saul had gone to do battle with the Amalekites, he came across a river with his soldiers, and in order to try them, he allowed them to drink of the river, and took with him only those who lapped of the water with their hands, or those who tasted it not. The story of Saul is no doubt confounded here with that of Gideon (Judges vii). Comp. I. Samuel xiv. 24.

[4] Al-Mas'ūdī (I. 108) says that Goliath was killed near Baisān, in al-Ghaur, the great valley of the Jordan. The Castle of Goliath is on a hill overhanging the city of 'Ammān, the Rabbath-Ammon of Scripture. *See* Text, p. 175.

The scence of the conflict between David and Goliath was the valley of Elah, in the tribe of Judah near the country of the Philistines. (1 *Sam.* xvii.). It was Saul who was killed near Baisān [Bethsan], which was a city of the Manassites, but locally situated in the tribe of Issachar. The birth-place and home of Goliath was Gath, near Bait Jibrīn, or Bait Jibril.

[5] The well of Jeremiah evidently refers to the dungeon in the court of the prison into which he was cast. Comp. Jeremiah xxxviii. 6. His prison also must refer to the place where he was shut up in the king of Judah's house. *Ibid.* xxxii. 2.

[6] In his description of 'Ammān (p. 175), our author mentions among the monuments of that city, the tomb of Uriah, over which, he says, a mosque has been built. The reference is certainly to Uriah the Hittite, who was killed before the walls of Rabbath-Ammon; and yet in this passage of al. Muqaddasī, as quoted by Yāqūt the word 'prophet' is added after the name of Uriah (III. 720). The house of Uriah was, of course, in Jerusalem.

[7] The Dome of Muḥammad, called to this day by the name of Qubbatu-n-Nabī, is one of the four domes on the platform in the centre of the court of the Masjidu-l-Aqṣā. (Text, p. 169). The Gate of Muḥammad is one of the gates of the Aqṣā mosque.

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Moses;[1] the hill of Jesus;[2] the oratory of Zacharias;[3] the battle ground of John;[4] the shrines[5] of the prophets; the villages of Job, and the dwelling-places of Jacob;[6] the Masjidu-l-Aqṣā;[7] the Mount of Olives;[8] the city of 'Akkā[9] (Acre); the shrine of Ṣiddīqā;[10] the sepulchre of Moses;[11] the resting-place of Abraham

[1] The rock near which Moses met with al-Khiḍhr (Qur'ān xviii. 62), on the coasts of Syria, near Antioch. *See* page 30 note 2 of this translation.

[2] On Mount Qāsiyūn (Casius), near Damascus. The hill is referred to in Qur'ān xxiii. 52, and a description of it is given by Ibn Baṭūṭah I. 233. It is said that Jesus and the Virgin Mary lived for some time in a small cave on this hill, which in the language of the Qur'ān was 'a place of quiet and security, and watered with running springs.' According to others, the hill represents Jerusalem. *See* Kitābu-l-Buldān, p. 93.

[3] Within the Masjidu-l-Aqṣā; referred to in Qur'ān xix. 12.

[4] In the Glossary the word معرك is given as probably meaning 'baptismal place;' this meaning can only have been suggested from the word being connected with the name of John the Baptist, as nothing in the root itself can, by any stretch of meaning, be taken to imply 'baptism'; unless indeed the idea of 'rubbing' can be so taken. Muslim writers, however, never allude to baptism under that name. If the word is not a corruption of معزل in the sense of 'place of seclusion or retreat;' it can only have the meaning given to it above; and the story of John's blood bubbling up on the ground, and not stopping till seventy thousand men were slain on it, seems to give weight to this interpretation. *See* al-Kāmil of Ibnu-l-Aṯhīr I. 216. Also Wherry's *Commentary*, III. 57*n*.

[5] Places hallowed by the martyrdom of prophets, or from association with their history.

[6] Three places in Syria are connected with the history of Job. 1° Al-Baṯhnah, or al-Baṯhaniyyah, to which he belonged. This village is situated between Dimashq and Aḏhri'āt, in the Ḥaurān district. 2° Nawā, a small town of Ḥaurān, at two marches from Damascus, where he chiefly resided. 3° Dair Ayyūb, or the Monastery of Job, where he suffered and was buried.

Jacob dwelt in the district of Nābulus [Neapolis, Schechem], in a village called Sailūn [Shiloh]. Yāqūt IV. 311.

[7] The Mosque at Jerusalem, which occupies the site of the Temple of Solomon. It was so called in Qur'ān xvii. 1, as the most remote of the venerated mosques of Islām.

[8] *Jabal Zaitā*, which derives its sacred character from the ascension of our Lord. *Comp.* Text, p. 172.

[9] Acre, the harbour of which he describes as one of the marvellous sights in the province. *See* Text, p. 186.

[10] *See* Text, p. 188.

[11] "And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor." (*Deut.* xxxiv. 6). The district is now called al-Balqā'; and Yāqūt

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softens, and the body readily bends in worship. Again, there is Damascus, (the garden of the world!) and Sughar,[1] the lesser Baṣrah; as also beautiful Ramlah, with its fine white bread; and holy Iliyā (Jerusalem), where hardship is unknown; and Ḥimṣ, renowned for cheap living and good air. The vine-clad mountain
152. of Buṣrā, too, should not be forgotten; nor Tiberias, so renowned for its crops and its villages. Besides, the sea stretches along the border of this province, carrying thereto continuously objects of commerce. The Sea of China also touches it on its furthest side.[2] Plains and mountains are there, also, and low valleys and other natural phenomena; while the desert lies on its outskirts, forming the roadway from it to Taimā'.[3] Quarries of marble also occur, and drugs for the composition of every medicine. The country is inhabited by many men of wealth and merchants and elegant people, as well as law doctors, scribes, artisans and physicians. But the people live ever in terror of the Greeks, who have driven many from their homes, and have devastated the outlying districts and ruined the frontier towns. Nor are the Syrians the equals of the Persians in either science, religion, or intelligence; some have become apostates, while others are paying tribute. They set obedience to created man before obedience to the Lord of Heaven. The populace, too, is ignorant and seditious, and the Syrian people show neither zeal for holy war, nor resentment against enemies.

According to some writers, ash-Shām derives its name from its position on the left of the Ka'bah. Others say it was so called because in journeying thither the original settlers had to take the direction of the left.[4] Others, again, derive the name from certain

[1] The Zoar of *Gen.* xix. 22, a small town at the southern end of the Dead Sea. It is described at page 178 of the text as a place of considerable commerce, a Baṣrah on a smaller scale.

[2] By the sea of China, the author understands the Indian Ocean in its wider sense, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Syria is connected with this ocean by the *Gulf of Akaba*, the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, at the head of which the town of Ailah (*Ælana*, or *Elath*) is situated. Ailah is properly a town of Arabia Petræa; but our author includes it in the towns of Syria, as being one of the ports of Palestine.

[3] Between Syria and al-Ḥijāz.

[4] Left of the track of the Sun, the face always being directed towards the East. Comp. Mas'ūdī III. 140. Or the name *ash-Shām*, the left hand, was first applied to this country by the Arabs of the Ḥijāz, in contradistinction to *al-Yaman*, the right hand, the two countries being situated to their left and right respectively.

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spots, red, white and black, which are to be found in it, and which are likened to the moles on the human body (*shāmāt.*)[1] The inhabitants of al-'Irāq call all the country beyond the Euphrates, ash-Shām; and in this less restricted sense the name is used by Muḥammad ibnu-l-Ḥasan[2] in his works. But in point of fact, of all the trans-Euphrates country, the district of Qinnasrīn alone forms part of ash-Shām. All the rest is the Arabian Desert, ash-Shām itself lying beyond this desert. Muḥammad uses the name for the sake of simplicity, and in accordance with the common conventional usage, just as it is customary to call Khurāsān, al-Mashriq (the East), while in point of fact the East is the country beyond this. Properly speaking, ash-Shām is the name for that portion of the country which lies directly opposite to al-Yaman, and from which it is divided by the district of al-Ḥijāz. Were any to say, 'We do not see why the extremity of the desert as far as the limits of al-'Irāq, should not be reckoned as part of Syria; so as to coincide with the learned of al-'Irāq:' we answer that we have divided the provinces according to nature, and so defined their boundaries; we must not, therefore, assign to one province what belongs to another. And if any further say, 'How do you know that it did not form part of it in ancient times?' we would reply, 'Both doctors of law and geographers are agreed that this debatable tract belongs to the Peninsula of the Arabs. Therefore, to any one who would assign it to Syria, except in a loose and general way, we should be able to say, 'The boundaries of Syria are as we have drawn them. To these boundaries you add a tract about which there is dispute; and it is on those who make the addition that the burden of proof lies.'

We have omitted all description of Ṭarasūs[3] and its district, inasmuch as it is now in the possession of the Greeks. It is in Ṭarasūs that the Cave[4] is situated, for there is the tomb of **153.**

[1] Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 2) lends his authority to this opinion, and says that in fact tracts of all three colors are to be found in Syria.

[2] The celebrated Ḥanafite doctor (A.H. 135–189).

[3] Tarsus was taken from the Arabs in A.H. 354, A.D. 965, by the emperor Nicephorus, but was soon after again restored to them. *See* Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Geog. II. 1106*a*.

[4] The Cave of the Seven Sleepers, whose story founded on Christian tradition is related in Chap. xviii. of the Qur'ān, verses 8–22. The city was Ephesus, but some commentators suppose it was Tarsus. *See* Wherry's *Commentary* III. 82 note on verse 18.

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Daqyānūs (Decianus).[1] There is a hill in the country-side, on which is a mosque said to be built over the Cave. Mujāhid ibn Yazīd gives the following account of a visit to the Cave.[2] He says, "I went forth with Khālid al-Barīdī,[3] at the time that he was sent on an embassy to the Roman emperor,[4] in the year 102 of the Hijrah. We were the only Muslims on that journey. After we had visited Constantinople, we set out to return by 'Ammūriyah,[5] and thence, in the course of four nights, we reached al-Lādhiqiyyatu-l-Muḥtariqah.[6] From thence we came on to al-Hawiyyah [the Ravine], a deep hollow in the mountain, where it was told us were some corpses of whose identity nothing is known, but there were guards over them. And the people caused us to enter a subterranean passage about fifty cubits long and two broad; we had lamps with us and behold, in the middle of this tunnel was an iron door, it being a hiding-place for their families when attacked by the Arabs. It was a waste of great extent, in the midst of which was a pool of water, about fifteen cubits across. The sky was visible from here. The cavern from this place entered the interior of the mountain, and we were conducted to a spot right under al-Hawiyyah, where was a chamber some twenty cubits long. In this chamber were thirteen men, lying on their backs, each having on a cloak—I cannot say whether of wool or of hair, but it was gray in colour—and a dust-coloured vestment, which crackled under the touch like parchment. These vestments,

[1] It was to escape the rage of Decius (A.D. 249–251), that the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus hid themselves in the cave. The majority of Arab writers, however, call their persecutor Decianus.

[2] The authorities for this narrative are:—The jurisprudent Abū 'Abdi-llāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Bukhārī; Abū Ṭālib al-Yamānī; al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā; his father; Muḥammad ibn Sahl al-Khurāsānī; Hishām ibn Muḥammad; Mujāhid ibn Yazīd.

[3] *Al-Barīdī* means the 'master of the post-horse establishment,' or 'a royal messenger' or 'courier.'

[4] In his translation of al-Muqaddasī's chapters on Syria for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, Mr. Guy Le Strange has mistaken the word aṭ-Ṭāghiyah, which is an appellation for the emperor of the Greeks (*see* Lane), for the name of a valley between Makkah and Yanbu'.

[5] Amorium.

[6] Laodiceia Combusta, the modern *Ladik*. The town received its surname probably from having been at one time destroyed by fire. But as it has this surname as early as the time of Strabo (*see* Smith's *Dict.* II. 112*a*), there is no ground for Le Strange's translation '*lately* destroyed by fire.'

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which were fringed, covered their faces and the whole of their bodies. Some of the dead men wore boots up to the middle of the leg, and some sandals, while others had shoes; everything seeming perfectly new. On uncovering the face of one of them, I perceived that the hair of his head and of his beard has remained unchanged, and that the skin of his face was shining, the blood appearing in his cheeks, as though these men had laid themselves down but a moment before. Indeed, their limbs were as supple as the limbs of living men. They were still in their youth, except certain of them who had white hair here and there. We also discovered that one of them had had his head cut off, and inquiring of the people on the matter, they answered, saying, "The Arabs having once prevailed over us, they took possession of al-Hawiyyah. We told them the story of these men, but as they would not believe us, one of them struck off the head of this one." The men of al-Hawiyyah also told us that each year on the anniversary of a feast held in their honour,[1] they assemble together 154. and raising them one by one, they cause them to stand upright. Then they wipe them, and shake the dust off their clothes, and arrange their garments, without ever having a fall or tottering; then they lay them upon the ground. They also said that they pare their nails three times in the year, for their nails continue to grow. Then we inquired concerning their history and their origin, but the people replied that they knew nothing about the matter, only adding, 'We call them prophets.'" Mujāhid and Khālid give it as their opinion that these men might be the 'men of the cave;' but God knows best.

On the next page will be found the figure or map of the province.

We have divided this province into six districts. The first, reckoning from near the province of Aqūr (Mesopotamia), is Qinnasrīn; next Ḥimṣ (Emesa); then Dimashq (Damascus); al-Urdunn (the Jordan); Filasṭīn (Palestine); and lastly, ash-Sharāt.[2] 1. The District of Qinnasrīn. Its capital is Ḥalab (Aleppo), and among its cities are Anṭākiyah (Antioch), Bālis,

[1] The commemoration of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus takes place on the 5th of Tishrīn I. (October), the first month in the ecclesiastical year. *See* Albīrūnī's Chronology, p. 285.

[2] The district of ash-Sharāt corresponds to the ancient Idumæa (Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.* II. 14*b*).

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as-Suwaidiyyah[1] Sumaisāṭ[2] Manbij,[3] Bayyās,[4] at-Ṭīnāt,[5] Qinnasrīn, Mar'aṧh,[6] Iskandarūnah, Lajjūn,[7] Rafaniyyah,[8] Jūsiyah,[9] Ḥamāt,[10] Ṧhaizar,[11] Wādī Buṭnān,[12] Ma'arratu-n-Nu'mān,[13]

[1] The port of Antioch, marked in K. Johnston's Map of Turkey in Asia F e. Yāqūt (I. 385) writes, Anṭākiyah, which is about 2 *farsaḵẖs* distant from the sea, has a harbour in a little town called as-Suwaidiyyah, where the ships of the Franks cast anchor, and from which they carry their effects on horses and mules to Anṭākiyah. According to Le Strange, it is probably identical with the *St. Simeon's Harbour* of the Crusades. The ruins of Seleuceia Pieria, the ancient port of Antioch, are not far distant from the modern port. The Orontes discharges itself into the sea at Suwaidiyyah.

[2] The ancient Samosata, on the river Euphrates. The modern town is about 40 miles south of the cataracts of the Euphrates, where it passes Mount Taurus. Smith's Dict. II. 901*a*. Sumaisāṭ is marked in K. J.'s map H e.

[3] The ancient Hierapolis, situated on the high road from Antioch to Mesopotamia, 24 Roman miles to the W. of the Euphrates, 2½ day's journey from Aleppo, and 5 day's from Antioch. The modern name of the town is *Karâ Bambuche*, or *Buyúk Munbedj*. Smith's Dict. I. 1064.

[4] The ancient Baiæ, a small place on the gulf of Issus, now the gulf of *Iskenderun*, on the Syrian coast. It is 2 *farsaḵẖs* distant from Iskandarūnah, to the north of it, and is marked in K. J.'s Map as *Bayas*.

[5] A port on the gulf of *Iskenderun*, between Bayyās and al-Maṣṣīṣah (Mopsuestia). It was from this port that ships laden with timber for Egypt and other parts of Syria set sail. It is probable that it occupied the site of the ancient Issus, on or near the head of the gulf.

[6] The *Marash* of the maps, supposed to be the ancient Germanicia.

[7] Lajjūn, Rafaniyyah, Jūsiyah, Ḥamāt, Ṧhaizar and Wādī Buṭnān are on p. 54 of the text, given as belonging to the district of Ḥimṣ.

[8] A maritime town of Syria, near Tripoli. *See* Smith's Dict. (II. 692*a*), and Yāqūt (II. 796). Among the districts of Ḥimṣ, Ibn Ḵẖurdāḏẖbah mentions a Rafaniyyah, which he joins with Tadmur (Palmyra). Yāqūt calls this Rafaniyyah, Rafaniyyah of Tadmur (II. 796).

[9] At 16 miles from Ḥimṣ, to the south of it.

[10] The Epiphaneia of the Greeks, delightfully situated on the western bank of the Orontes, to the north of Ḥimṣ. It is supposed to be identical with the ancient Hamath. *See* Smith I. 843, and Abu-l-Fidā' II. 40.

[11] Now called Qal'at Ṧhaizar, marked in the maps as *Sejar*, on the left bank of the Orontes, between Ḥamāt and Fāmiyah (Apameia), and at 16 miles from the latter. It is the ancient Larissa. *See* Smith II. 128.

[12] Yāqūt (I. 664) describes Buṭnān as a valley between Manbij and Ḥalab, at a short day's march from either place, interspersed with running streams and numerous villages, of which the largest is called Buzā'ah.

[13] A considerable town in the district of Ḥimṣ, between Ḥalab and Ḥamāt (Yāqūt IV. 575). Its name often appears as *al-Ma'arrah*. It is the ancient Arra, 20 miles S. of Chalcis, or Qinnasrīn. It is also known as Ḏẖātu-l-Qaṣrain. Ad-Dimaṧhqī, 205.

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Ma'arrat-Qinnasrīn.[1] 2. The District of Ḥimṣ (Emesa). Its capital bears the same name. Among its cities are: Salamiyyah,[2] Tadmur (Palmyra), al-Khunāṣirah,[3] Kafar-ṭāb,[4] al-Lādhiqiyyah[5] Jabalah,[6] Anṭarsūs,[7] Bulunyās,[8] Ḥiṣnu-l-Khawābī.[9] 3. The District of Dimashq (Damascus). Its capital is of the same name. Its cities are: Bāniyās, Ṣaidā (Sidon), Bairūt, Aṭrābulus (Tripoli), 'Arqah. The territory of al-Biqā'.[10] Chief City, Ba'labakk (Heliopolis); towns, Kāmid,[11]

[1] Often called Ma'arrat-Maṣrīn, a small town in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, at a distance of 15 miles from it. Yāqūt IV. 574.

[2] Written in Yāqūt (III. 123), Salamyah. It is the ancient Salaminias or Salamias (Smith II. 876), situated on the border of the desert, but fertile and abounding in water and trees. It is 24 miles distant from Ḥimṣ.

[3] The town of Khunāṣirah is the chief place in the district of al-Aḥaṣṣ, a large, well-known tract of country to the south-east of Aleppo. Yāqūt (II. 473) places it ever against Qinnasrīn, near the confines of the desert.

[4] Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 41) describes Kafarṭāb as a small town, where there is little water. It is, however, the chief administrative place of the locality. It is situated on the road from Ma'arrah to Shaizar, at a distance of 12 miles from either place.

[5] Laodiceia ad Mare, formerly one of the most important towns on the Syrian coast. The modern city still shows traces of its former importance. Its port is better sheltered than any on the coast. Smith II. 123*b*. It is 45 miles distant from Antioch.

[6] A maritime city of Syria, south of al-Lādhiqiyyah. The *Jebleh* of the maps.

[7] Incorrectly for Anṭarṭūs, the ancient Antaradus, and the modern *Tartūs*. It is situated at the northern extremity of Phœnicia, over against the island of Aradus, now called *Ruad*. Tartūs is now a mean village of about three hundred inhabitants. Smith I. 188*b*.

[8] Bulunyās, was a town on the sea coast, situated 24 miles to the north of Anṭarṭūs, near the fortress of Marqab. The river *Banias* flowed on the S. and W. of it. It is now utterly deserted. The city is mentioned by the Crusaders under the name of *Valania*, and its Greek name was Balanea. Smith I. 372*b*.

[9] According to al-Idrīsī, it is 15 miles to the south of Anṭarṭūs.

[10] Al-Biqā' is now the name of the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, from *Zahleh* southward. The remainder of the Biqā', from the village of Zahleh northward, takes its name from *Baalbek*, which lies in this plain. Al-Biqā' is the Coelesyria of classical writers. Smith II. 1071. Yāqūt (I. 699) describes al-Biqā' as a large plain between Ba'labakk, Ḥimṣ and Dimashq, where there are many villages and abundant waters.

[11] Formerly the capital of al-Biqā'. Ad-Dimashqī (p. 199) places it at the foot of Lebanon. It is also called Kāmidu-l-Lauz (of the Almond). *See* Abu-l-Fidā' II. 27 note 1.

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'Arjamūsh[1] and az-Zabadānī.[2] The District of Damascus includes six territories: al-Ghūṭah, Ḥaurān, al-Bathaniyyah, al-Jaulān, al-Biqā', and al-Ḥūlah.[3] 4. The District of al-Urdunn (the Jordan). Its capital is Ṭabariyyah (Tiberias). Among its towns are: Qadas, Ṣūr (Tyre), 'Akkā (Acre), al-Lajjūn, Kābul, Baisān, Adhri'āt. 5. The District of Filasṭīn (Palestine). Its capital is ar-Ramlah. Its towns: Baitu-l-Maqdis
155. (Jerusalem), Bait-Jibrīl, Ghazzah (Gaza), Maimās, 'Asqalān (Ascalon), Yāfah (Joppa), Arsūf, Qaisāriyyah (Cæsarea), Nābulus, Arīḥā (Jericho), 'Ammān. 6. The District of ash-Sharāt. We have reckoned Ṣughar as the capital of this District. Its chief towns are: Ma'āb (Moab), Mu'ān,[4] Tabūk, Adhruḥ, Wailah, Madyan.

It is to be remarked that there are villages in this province, larger and more considerable than many of the chief towns in the Arabian Peninsula; such as Dārayyā,[5] Bait-Lihyā,[6] Kafar-sallām and Kafar-sābā. But they have the characteristics of villages, and are reckoned as such—this practice, as we have said before, being based upon conventional usage.

Ḥalab[7] (Aleppo) is a fine city, delightful and well-fortified. The

[1] It is 'Arjamūs in Yāqūt, who places it in the Biqā' of Ba'labakk (III. 637). Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 26) says it is 12 miles distant from Ba'labakk, and is on the road from this town to Bairūt.

[2] Az-Zabadānī is a pleasant town situated on the banks of the Baradā, the river of Damascus. It is 18 miles distant from Ba'labakk, and the same distance from Damascus.

[3] Al-Ghūṭah is the district in the midst of which Damascus is situated. The whole district is covered with gardens, and watered by numerous streams. It is celebrated by the Arabian poets as the terrestrial Paradise. Smith I. 749, and Comp. Yāqūt III. 825. Ḥaurān (Auranitis) is the great desert tract south of Damascus. Al-Bathaniyyah is the District of Batanæa, situated between al-Jaulān or Gaulanitis and Ḥaurān. Gaulanitis extended from the sea of Tiberias to the sources of the Jordan. Al-Biqā', as already mentioned, is the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Al-Ḥūlah, or *Ard-el-Huleh*, is the region round the small lake now called *Bahr-el-Huleh*, "the waters of Merom" of Scripture.

[4] A small town on the border of the desert; the *Maan* of the maps.

[5] A large village in the Ghūtah of Dimashq, at three miles from the city to the south-west. Abu-l-Fidā' II. 28 note 3.

[6] Another well-known village in the Ghūṭah, placed by Ibn Baṭūṭah (I. 237) east of Damascus.

[7] The modern representative of Chaleb or Chalybon, to which Seleucus

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inhabitants are characterized by a certain elegance of manners, and are rich and gifted. The houses are built of stone, and the city is flourishing. In the midst of it rises a strong and spacious citadel, which has its own water supply, and where the royal treasures are kept. The great mosque stands in the town. The inhabitants drink the water of the Quwaiq[1] river, which enters the town to the Palace of Saifu-d-Daulah[2] through an iron grating. The city is not large, but it is the seat of government. It has seven gates:[3] the gate of Ḥimṣ, the gate of ar-Raqqah, the gate of Qinnasrīn, the gate of the Jews, the gate of al-'Irāq, the gate of the Melon-market (Bāb Dāri-l-Biṭṭīkh),[4] and the gate of Anṭākiyah. The gate of the Forty (Bābu-l-Arba'īn) is now closed. Bālis[5] is situated in the angle of the boundary towards ar-Raqqah. It is a flourishing town. Qinnasrīn[6] has been denuded of most of

Nicator gave the name of Bercœa. It was conquered by the Arabs under Abū 'Ubaidah, A.D. 638. In A.H. 333 (A.D. 944-5), Ḥalab became the capital of Saifu-d-Daulah ibn Ḥamdān, and continued in the possession of his family for about seventy years.

[1] In all probability the ancient Chalus. It takes its rise from two sources in the high ground S. of *'Aintāb*. (Smith I. 602*a*). According to Yāqūt (IV. 206), it is 42 miles long, from its source to the place where it is lost in the marsh 12 miles from Qinnasrīn. The Quwaiq almost dries up in summer.

[2] Saifu-d-Daulah, the great prince of the race of Ḥamdān, was born in A.H. 303 (A.D. 916), and died at Aleppo A.H. 356, after a successful reign of about 24 years. He distinguished himself greatly in his numerous campaigns against the Greeks. For his life, consult Ibn Khallikān II. 334.

[3] The names of the gates in Yāqūt (II. 310) are as follows: the gate of the Forty, the gate of the Jews,—which was restored by al-Maliku-ḍ-Ḍhāhir and its name changed to Bābu-n-Naṣr or the gate of Victory—the gate of the Gardens (Bābu-l-Jinān), the gate of Anṭākiyah, the gate of Qinnasrīn, the gate of al-'Irāq, and the Secret Gate (Bābu-s-Sirr).

[4] This is probably a counterpart of the Dāru-l-Biṭṭīkh of Baghdād, which was a market for fruits of all kinds, although known as the water-melon market. *See* Yāqūt II. 517.

[5] The ancient town of Barbarissus, by the Euphrates. Bālis was situated on the confines of Syria and Arabia, in the angle formed by the Euphrates and the common boundary of the two provinces. This is apparently what the author means by *ra'su-l-ḥadd*, the head of the boundary. At the time of Yāqūt, Bālis was 4 miles away from the Euphrates, the river having gradually receded towards the east.

[6] Qinnasrīn has been identified with the ancient Chalcis, which was situated 53 Roman miles from Antioch and 18 M.P. from Bercœa. The modern town is about 12 English miles from Aleppo. Qinnasrīn was formerly the

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156. its inhabitants. The Prophet is reported to have said, "Almighty God spake to me in revelation, 'Whichever of these three thou repairest to it shall be the abode of thy flight—al-Madīnah, al-Baḥrain, or Qinnasrīn,"[1] Now if any one should ask of me 'Why have you reckoned Ḥalab, as the capital of the district, when here is a town bearing the very same name?' I reply, 'I have stated before that the capitals of districts are like unto captains and the towns like soldiers; and so it would not be fitting to make lordly Ḥalab, which is the seat of government and of all state offices, or Anṭākiyah with all its excellence, or Bālis in its flourishing state—subordinate towns to a small and ruined city. Were he to say, 'Why then have you not done the same in the case of Sh̲īrāz? for, according to this rule, Iṣṭak̲hr and its towns should be reckoned as belonging to Sh̲īrāz: we reply, As there are many towns in the district of Iṣṭak̲hr, situated at some distance from Iṣṭak̲hr itself, we have deemed it expedient to act in the way we did. In the science of geography, the rule is not unfrequently sacrificed to expediency even as is the case in questions affecting the *Mukātib* (covenanted slave).[2] Do you not see how the postponement of payments by reason of the *Nairūz*[3] or the *Mihrajān*,[4] is held to be irregular in all the ordinances

chief city in the district, but it began to lose ground as Aleppo rose into importance, and finally dwindled into an insignificant village.

[1] The authorities for this tradition are:—the worthy Sh̲aik̲h Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad [ibn Jibrā'il al-Jūrī] an-Naisābūrī; Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn K̲huzaimah [an-Naisābūrī *al-Ḥāfiẓ*, A.H. 223–311, *Abu-l-maḥāsin* II. 221]: Abū 'Ammār [al-Ḥusain] ibn Ḥurait̲h al-Marwazī, *i.e.*, of Marw [died A.H. 244, *Abu-l-maḥ.* I. 751]; al-Faḍhl Abū (read *Ibn*) Mūsā [as̲h-Sh̲aibānī, d. 192, *cf.* Yāqūt II. 570]; [Abu-l-Mu̲t̲hayyab] 'Isā ibn 'Ubaid [ibn Abī 'Ubaid al-Kindī ad-Darwāzaqī, Yāqūt II. 570]; G̲hailān ibn 'Abdi-llāh al-'Āmirī; Abū Zur'ah; 'Amr ibn Jarīr. This is Jarīr ibn 'Abdi-llah al-Bajalī, referred to at page 190 note 3 of this translation.

[2] See Hamilton's *Hidāyah* III. 376 *et seq*; and comp. Text, p. 32 (page 47 of this translation).

[3] The *Nairūz* or *Naurūz* is New year's day, which according to the Persian calendar falls on the day on which the sun enters Aries, initiating a week of festivities which terminates with the *Naurūz-i-buzurg*, the sixth day after the vernal equinox.

[4] The autumnal equinox, which is celebrated as a feast-day by the Persians. For an account of the Nairūz and the Mihrajān, see Albīrūnī's *Chronology*, pp. 199 and 207.

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of law, but admissible in the case of *Kitābat*[1] by way of expediency?

Ḥimṣ (Emesa). There is no larger city than this in all Syria. There is a citadel on a hill commanding the city, which is seen from afar. Most of the drinking-water is obtained from rainfall but there is also a river.[2] When the Muslims conquered this place they seized the Church and turned the half of it into a mosque.[3] Near this mosque, in the market-place, there is a dome on the apex of which is the figure of a man in brass, standing upon a fish which turns to the four winds.[4] About this figure they relate many absurd stories. This town has greatly declined, and is gradually sinking into decay. The men of Ḥimṣ are noted for their foolishness. The other towns of the district are all in a state of partial decay. Prices are everywhere moderate, and such of the towns as are on the coast are well-fortified. Tadmur (Palmyra) is likewise in a state of decay. It is one of the cities of Solomon, the son of David, built like a throne[5] (above the plain). It is situated near the desert[6] and is a spacious and pleasant city.

[1] In a contract of *kitābat*, the ransom is generally stipulated to be paid by the slave in separate *qisṭs*, or lots, at appointed times. A *mukātib* failing in his payments, may if he appear on enquiry to be solvent, be indulged with a short delay. Otherwise the master may require the magistrate to pass a decree of inability, and so dissolve the contract of *kitābat*. From the text it appears that if payments fall due on the *Nairūz* or the *Mihrajān* feast-days, they may be deferred without any injury to the slave.

[2] This is the Orontes, which waters the gardens of Ḥimṣ about a mile and a half to the west of the town. Smith II. 1071*b*.

[3] Ḥimṣ capitulated to the Muslims under Abū 'Ubaidah in A.H. 15 (A.D. 636). Under the terms of capitulation, one quarter of St. John's Church in that city was to be given over to the Muslims to be converted into a mosque. *See* al-Bilādhurī, p. 131.

[4] Yāqūt (II. 336) describes the figure as follows: One of the wonders of Ḥimṣ is a figure at the gate of the mosque, nearer the Church, standing on a white stone, and having the upper part like that of a man, and the lower like a scorpion. If you take a piece of the clay of the soil, and press it on that figure, it will serve as a cure against the bite of scorpions, namely, by the person bitten dissolving it in water and drinking it. *cf.* Text, p. 186.

[5] This seems to refer to the situation of Palmyra "under a ridge of hills towards the W., and a little above the level of an extensive plain." Smith II. 536*a*.

[6] Tadmur is situated in a pleasant and fruitful oasis of the great Syrian, desert (Smith).

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Dimashq (Damascus)[1] is the chief town of Syria, and the royal residence under the House of Umayyah. There their palaces and their monuments are to be seen to this day.[2] The houses of Damascus are built of wood and mud-bricks.[3] The city is commanded by a mud fortress, which was erected during my stay there. Most of the markets are covered with roofs, and among
157. them there is a fine open one, which runs through the length of the town.[4] The city is intersected by numerous streams, and large clumps of trees encompass it on all sides. Fruits abound, and prices of commodities are moderate. Snow is also found, and things of quite opposite natures. Nowhere else will be seen such magnificent hot baths, nor such beautiful fountains. The people, too, are noted for their good judgment. Among the gates of the city [5]

[1] This exceedingly ancient city, now called *Esh-Sham*, is situated at the distance of two days' journey, or about 60 miles from the coast of the Mediterranean, not far from the eastern base of the range of Antilibanus, and at the western extremity of the great desert of *El-Hauran*. Smith I. 749. This city in the midst of gardens, occupies a site of singular beauty, and has been celebrated by the Arabian poets as the terrestrial Paradise. The capital city of Syria, both in ancient and modern times, it became during the reign of the Ummayyades, the capital of the whole Muhammadan empire. The rule of this dynasty lasted from A.H. 40–132, A.D. 661–750, a period of nearly ninety years.

[2] The caliphs of the House of Umayyah adorned their capital with many splendid buildings, principal among which was the great mosque. Justice Ameer Ali in his *Short History of the Saracens*, describes the buildings of Damascus in the following terms. "Under the Ommeyades, he says, Damascus became one of the most beautiful cities of the world, and the metropolis of the Islâmic empire. They adorned it with magnificent buildings, fountains, kiosks, and pleasure-houses. The embellishment began with the Green Palace (Qaṣru-l-Khaḍhrā') built by Mu'âwiyah, which received its name from its green colouring and ornamentation. Under his successors the city shone with the white domes and the towers of innumerable palaces and mosques. Walîd I in particular beautified Damascus and its environs with public structures, and erected for himself a lasting monument in the great mosque."

[3] The author of the *Ẓafarnāma* states that the houses of Damascus have their first story built of stone, and the other stories of wood. *See* Quatremère, *Histoires des Sultans Mamlouks*, Vol. II, 3rd part, p. 286.

[4] This evidently refers to the *Via Recta*, "the street called Straight," which ran through the centre of the city, from the east to the west gate.

[5] Damascus has eight gates, as would appear from the verses of one of its poets, who in comparing it to Paradise, says that its gates are eight like

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I have noticed the following: the Jābiyah gate,[1] the gate aṣ-Ṣaghīr (the Small), the gate al-Kabīr (the Great), the gate ash-Sharqī (the Eastern), the gate of Tūmā (St. Thomas), the gate of the river, and the gate of the Maḥāmiliyyīn, or makers of camel-litters. The climate of Damascus is very pleasant, but somewhat dry. Also the inhabitants are turbulent, fruits are insipid, and meat is hard, and the houses are small and the streets gloomy. The bread also is bad there, and a livelihood is difficult to make. The city measures about half *a farsakh* in length and in breadth, and stands in a level plain. The Damascus mosque[2] is the fairest gem that belongs to the Muslims now, and nowhere have they such vast treasure collected at one place. Its foundation walls are built of squared stones, accurately set and of large size, and are crowned with splendid battlements. The columns supporting the roof of the mosque consist of black polished pillars in three ranges of great breadth. In the centre, fronting the miḥrāb, is a great dome.[3] The open court is surrounded by lofty arcades, themselves surmounted with smaller arches, and the whole area is paved with white marble. The walls of the mosque, for twice the height of a man, are faced with variegated marble, and above this, even to the ceiling, are mosaics of various colours and in gold, showing figures of trees and towns and inscriptions as well, all most beautiful and exquisitely and finely worked. There is scarcely a kind of tree or a well-known town, that will not be found figured on these walls. The capitals of the columns are covered with gold, and the spandrels of the arcades are everywhere ornamented in mosaic. The columns round the court are all of white marble, while the walls that enclose it, the vaulted arcades, and the small arches above, are adorned in mosaic with arabesque designs. The roofs are everywhere overlaid with plates of lead, and the battlements on both sides are faced with

Paradise. *See* Ibn Baṭūṭah I. 221. According to *Kitābu-l-Buldān* (p. 106), in its Roman days Damascus had six gates, namely, the Jābiyah gate, the Small gate, the Kaisān gate, the Eastern gate, the Tūmā gate, and the gate of Paradise or the gardens (Bābu-l-Farādīs).

[1] Named after al-Jābiyah, or Jābiyatu-l-Jaulān, the place called *Gabeta* by Theophanes. This gate is opposite the Eastern gate.

[2] On the mosque of Damascus, read the dissertation of Quatremère, *Histoires des Sultans Mamlouks*, Vol. II, 3rd part, p. 262 *et seq.*, and Cf. Ibn Baṭūṭah, *Voyages*, Vol. I. p. 197 *et seq.*

[3] Called *Qubbatu-n-Nasr*, the dome of the eagle.

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the mosaic work. On the right side of the court is a treasure-house,[1] raised on eight columns. It is finely ornamented, and the walls are covered with mosaic. Both within the miḥrāb and
158. around it are set cut agates and turquoises of the largest size. To the left of this miḥrāb, there is another, inferior to it, which is for the special use of the Sultan. The centre of this miḥrāb had become somewhat injured, and I hear the cost of restoring it amounted to as much as 500 dīnārs. On the summit of the dome of the mosque is an orange, and above it a pomegranate, both in gold. But of the most wonderful of the sights in this mosque is the setting of the various coloured marbles, so cunningly matched one with the other. In fact, the mosque is such that should an artist visit it daily during a whole year, he might always discover some new pattern and some fresh design. It is said that al-Walīd employed on its construction skilled workmen from Persia, India, Western Africa and Greece, spending thereon the revenues of Syria for seven years, as well as eighteen shiploads of gold and silver, which came from Cyprus. And this does not include what the emperor of the Greeks gave to him in the matter of requisite materials and mosaics. The people enter the mosque by four gates—namely. 1° Bābu-l-Barīd [3] (the gate of the post), which opens into the right hand side (of the court). It is of great size, and has two smaller gateways to right and to left of it. The chief gateway and the two lesser ones have each of them double doors, which are covered with plates of gilded copper. Over the great and the two smaller gateways are three colonnades, and the doors open into the long arcades, which are vaulted over, the arches of the vault resting on marble columns, while the walls are covered after the manner that has already been described. The ceilings here are all painted with the most exquisite designs. In these arcades is the place of the paper-sellers, and also the court of the Qāḍhi's lieutenant. This gate comes in between the main building (the covered part of the mosque) and the court. Opposite to it, and on the left-

[1] The treasure-house of the mosque, situated on the west side of the court. The revenues of the mosque amounted to nearly 25,000 dīnārs a year.

[2] Known as *Miḥrābu-ṣ-Ṣuḥābah*, the miḥrāb of the Companions of the Prophet.

[3] On the western side of the mosque, in one of the pleasantest spots in Damascus. Yāqūt I. 442 and II. 591. Described by Ibn Baṭūṭah I. 209.

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hand side, is 2° the Bāb Jairūn,[1] which is similar to the Gate al-Barīd just described, only that its colonnades are vaulted over in the breadth. To this gate you ascend by steps. It is the place where the astrologers and other such people are wont to take their seat. 3° Bābu-s-Sā'āt [2] (the gate of the Hours) is in the eastern angle of the covered part (of the mosque). It has double doors, which are unornamented, and over it are arcades, under which are seated the public notaries and the like. The fourth gate is called Bābu-l-Farādīs [3] (the gate of the gardens), also with double doors. It is opposite the miḥrāb, and opens into the 159.
arcades (on that side of the court), between the two additions which have been built here on the right and the left. Above it rises a minaret:[4] this is of modern construction, and is ornamented with mosaic work in the manner already described. Before each of these four gates is a place for ablutions, cased with marble, and with apartments, wherein is running water; and also fountains

[1] On the eastern side, the largest gate in the mosque. Described by Ibn Baṭūṭah I. 207. According to this writer it is the same as the gate of the Hours, so called from a large clepsydra that stood near it. All authors are agreed that this clock stood on the eastern side of the mosque, to the right of the gate Jairūn (see De Sacy's *Relation de l'Egypte*, p. 578), so that the statement of our author that the gate of the Hours was situated in or near the eastern angle of the covered part of the mosque, is not very wide of the mark. Read the note of Le Strange on the gates of the mosque, *Description of Syria*, p. 20.

[2] The gate of the Hours as already stated stood on the eastern side of the mosque, to the right of the gate Jairūn. It does not appear that our author ever intended by this gate, the one in the western portion of the south wall, which has always been called Bābu-z-Ziyādah (gate of the Addition). The latter gate derives its name no doubt from the fact of that part of the mosque, which was till then used as a Christian church, having been incorporated by al-Walīd into the original mosque. *See* Quatremère II. 3rd part, p. 263.

[3] This is the gate on the northern wall, called by other writers Bābu-n-Nāṭifiyyīn (of the Confectioners). Al-Muqaddasī calls it Bābu-l-Farādīs, from the city gate of the same name which stood in that quarter, namely, on the river Barada to the north of the mosque.

[4] This is certainly the Ma'dhanatu-l-'Arūs (the Minaret of the Bride), which was built by al-Walīd, on the northern side of the mosque. Hence, the author speaks of it as of modern construction, for there were two other minarets, dating from the times of the original Christian church of St. John. *See* Quatremère II. 3rd part, p. 273. What made Le Strange think there is a doubt about the two minarets being the same, is that he translated the word *muḥdaṯhah* by 'recently-constructed,' when, in fact, at the time al-Muqaddasī wrote the minaret was nearly three centuries old.

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which flow into great marble basins. From al-Khaḍhrā',[1] the Sultan's palace, are gold-plated gates leading into the Maqṣūrah. Now one day, I said, speaking to my uncle, 'O my uncle, verily it was not well of al-Walīd to expend so much of the wealth of the Muslims on the mosque at Damascus. Had he expended the same on making roads, or in the construction of tanks, or the restoration of the fortresses, it would have been more fitting and more excellent of him.' But my uncle said to me in answer, 'my dear son, you have not understanding! Verily al-Walīd was right, and he was prompted to do a worthy work. For he beheld Syria to be a country that had long been occupied by the Christians, and he noted herein the beautiful churches still belonging to them, so enchantingly fair, and so renowned for their splendour: even as are the Qumāmah[2] (the church of the Holy Sepulchre) and the churches of Lydda and Edessa. So he built for the Muslims a mosque, by which he diverted them from these, for he made it one of the wonders of the world! Do you not see how 'Abdu-l-Malik,[3] noting the greatness of the Dome of the Qumāmah and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected, above the Rock, the dome which now is seen there?—I have found it stated in a certain book in the library of 'Aḍhudu-d-Daulah, that there are two cities which are the Brides of the World, namely, Damascus and ar-Rayy; and Yaḥyā ibn Aktham[4] states that nowhere on earth is there any spot more pleasant than

[1] Built by Mu'āwiyah when governor of Syria, and so called from a green dome which he had constructed in the palace. *See* Quatremère, *ibid.*, p. 263. The palace al-Khaḍhrā' stood at the back of the southern wall of the great mosque. According to Ibn Baṭūṭah (I. 207), it was destroyed by order of the 'Abbāsides.

[2] This is the name which the Muslims give to the magnificent church of the Anastasis, which was erected in the time of Constantine, 366 A.D., after the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The name which literally means 'the Dunghill,' is a corruption of al-Qiyāmah, *the Resurrection*, the name given to the church by Christian Arabs.

[3] The fifth Caliph of the House of Umayyah (65–86 A.H.), father of al-Walīd. In 72 A.H. = 691 A.D., he reconstructed the sanctuary of the Aqṣā mosque in a style of great magnificence.

[4] The celebrated jurist of the reign of al-Ma'mūn, and *Qāḍhi-l-Quḍhāt* for many years. (159–242 A.H. = 777–857 A.D.).

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three places, namely, [the Ṣughd of] Samarqand,[1] the plain of Damascus (*Ghūṭat Dimashq*), and the Ubullah Canal (Nahru-l-Ubullah).[2] Damascus was founded by Dimashq,[3] the son of Qānī, the son of Malik, the son of Arfakhshadh (Arphaxad), the son of Sām (Shem), five years before the birth of Abraham. Al-Aṣma'ī, however, asserts that its name is to be derived from the word 'Damshaqūhā,' meaning 'they hastened in its building.' 'Umar 160.
ibn 'Abdi-l-'Azīz, it is said, wished at one time to strip the mosque of its ornaments, and use the proceeds for the benefit of the Muslims, but he was at length persuaded to abandon the design.[4] I have read in some book that the true amount of the expenditure on the Damascus mosque was eighteen mule-loads of gold.[5]—A satirist writing of the people of Damascus has said:[6]

O you who ask concerning our religion!
Noting the dignified appearance of their doctors of law,
And their right good conduct in public,
Their exterior is not the same as their inward man!
They have nought to boast of save a mosque,

[1] For a description of the celebrated valley of Samarqand, see Abu-l-Fidā' II. 213. The city of Samarqand itself is thus described in Ibn Khurdādhbah (p. 172): The view of Samarqand from the mountain of aṣ-Ṣughd surpasses anything of the kind in the world in beauty. Ḥudhain ibnu-l-Mundhir ar-Raqāshī compares its sea of verdure to the heavens, its glittering palaces to the stars, its river to the Milky Way, and its wall to the sun, for it encompasses it on all sides just as the sun envelops everything with its light.

[2] The southern of the two canals cut from the Shaṭṭu-l-'Arab to the old city of al-Baṣrah. The rich gardens along its borders, for a distance of some miles, have made this spot justly celebrated as one of the gardens of the world.

[3] Josephus ascribes the foundation of Damascus to Uz, a grandson of Shem (*Ant.* i. 6. § 3).

[4] See Quatremère, *Histoires des Sultans Mamlouks* II. 3rd part, p. 274.

[5] Ibn Jubair gives the total as 11,200,000 dīnārs. According to the author of *Kitābu-l-Buldān* (p. 107), the accounts made eighteen camel-loads; and he adds that when the accounts were taken before al-Walīd, he would not look into them, but ordered them to be burned, which is not to be wondered at in the least.

[6] The first half line is the beginning of a satirical song written by al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik, who succeeded his uncle Hishām in 125 A.H. = 743 A.D. Yazīd ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik nominated al-Walīd to the succession after his brother Hishām; but when Hishām had come to the caliphate he desired to put aside al-Walīd in favor of his own son Maslamah, who was

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By possessing which they have transgressed their proper bounds.
Should a neighbour come to them for a light from their fire,
Never will they give him a burning stick.
To their neighbours they are as lions,—but their enemies
Securely strut about in their very homes.

The last line however, is not true, for their enemies are ever in fear of them.—The town of Bāniyās [1] is situated on the border of al-Ḥūlah, [2] towards the foot of the mountains.[3] There is greater plenty here, and the means of livelihood are easier than in Damascus. Thus it was to Bāniyās that most of the inhabitants of the frontier district migrated when Ṭarasūs was taken. The town was then enlarged, and is daily expanding. An extremely cold river,[4] rising from under the Snow Mountain (Jabalu-th-Thalj),[5] issues from a spring in the middle of the town. Bāniyās is the granary of Damascus. Situated in the midst of districts of great fertility, it showers plenty on its inhabitants. The sole

called Abū Shākir, a familiar name for a gay prince. It was therefore the policy of Hishām to traduce al-Walīd on all occasions. He went so far as to question once his faith in Islām, and this drew from al-Walīd the following telling lines, which seem to have long been current as a popular song:—

O you who ask concerning our religion,
We are of the same religion as Abū Shākir!
We drink it pure and we drink it mixed
With hot, and sometimes with tepid water.

[1] The city of Paneas, more usually called Cæsareia Philippi. It is situated upon one of the sources of the Jordan, at the foot of Mt. Panium, one of the branches of Lebanon. The modern town contains only 150 houses. Smith II. 540*a*.

[2] This does not refer to the lake, but to the district of al-Ḥūlah, which lies immediately south of Paneas.

[3] Mt. Panium, one of the branches of Lebanon.

[4] The river of Bāniyās, supposed to be the principal source of the Jordan, issues from a spacious cavern under a wall of rock, on the N.-E. side of the town. It is at its head a copious fountain, springing out from the earth in a wide and rapid but shallow stream. This spring was considered to be the outlet of a small lake called Phiala, now *Birket-er-Ram*, situated high in a bare mountain region about 14 miles from Paneas towards the N.-E. Smith II. 540*a* and 519*b*.

[5] The Hermon of the Old Testament, now called *Jebel esh-Sheikh*. It is the easternmost of the two ridges of Antilibanus, of which it is the proper prolongation. Smith I. 141*a*.

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drawback is that the drinking-water is bad.—Ṣaidā (Sidon)[1] and Bairūt[2] are well-fortified maritime towns; so also is Ṭarābulus (Tripoli),[3] but it is larger.—Ba'labakk[4] is an ancient city, having cultivated fields and many wondrous ruins. Grapes are in abundance. The other cities of the district of Damascus are all large pleasant places. In Ḥaurān and al-Batḥaniyyah are the villages of Job and his lands. The chief city is Nawā,[5] most rich in wheat and grain. The territory of al-Ḥūlah produces much cotton, and is the principal place for orange flowers;[6] it is low-lying, and has numerous streams. The Ghūṭah (the plain round Damascus) is a day's journey across each way, and beautiful beyond all description.[7]

[1] Sidon, anciently one of the leading cities of Phœnicia, but now little more than a mere village, is situated on the Syrian coast, almost midway between Ṣūr (Tyre) and Bairūt.

[2] Bairūt, now the most important seaport town of Syria, is a place of great antiquity. It has been identified by some with the Berotha or Berothai of the Hebrew Scriptures, and was known in classical times as Berytus. It was in the neighbourhood of Berytus that the scene of the combat betweet St. George and the Dragon is laid. See Smith I. 395*a*.

[3] Tripolis, one of the principal maritime cities of Phœnicia, derived its name from having been the federal town of the three leading Phœnician cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus, each of which had here its separate quarter. (Smith II. 606*a*). It stands on a little river now called Qadīsha (the holy) or Abū 'Alī, in a fertile plain, the port being about two miles distant, on a small peninsula. Tripoli was taken by the Arabs in 638 after a prolonged siege.

[4] The Heliopolis of the Greeks, pleasantly situated on a gentle elevation at the N.-E. extremity of the plain of al-Biqā', or Coele-Syria, about 35 miles N.-W. of Damascus. Ba'labakk is celebrated for the magnificence of its ruins, but nothing certain is known of its origin. A description of these ruins will be found in Smith's Dictionary under HELIOPOLIS.

[5] The ancient Neve.

[6] The text has الازهار, but in footnote *g* describing the district near Bāniyās, by which the district of al-Ḥūlah is certainly meant, we find instead الارزاز 'rice.' Al-Ḥūlah produces both cotton and rice.

[7] These additional notes are taken from MS. C:—'Arqah is a place lying some way from the sea. The cities of the district of Damascus are situated for the most part in the lands bordering on the Nahru-l-Maqlūb (the river Orontes). The Jaulān district supplies Damascus with most of its provisions. 'Arqah, in Greek *Arca*, was situated between Tripolis and Antaradus, at the N.-W. foot of Libanus. According to Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 33), it lay a parasang from the sea. The name is also written 'Irqah.

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161. Ṭabariyyah (Tiberias)[1] is the capital of the Jordan district, and the principal town in the Wādī of Kan'ān.[2] It occupies a narrow strip of plain between the mountain[3] and the lake,[4] so that it is stifling in summer and unhealthy. The town is nearly a *farsakh* in length, but has no breadth. Its market-place extends from one city gate to the other, and its graveyard is on the hill slope. There are in the town eight hot-baths,[5] not heated by fuel, and a great number of basins, of hot water. The mosque is large and fine, and stands in the market-place. Its floor is laid in pebbles, and the roof is raised on pillars of joined stones. Of the people of Tiberias it is said: that for two months they dance, and for two more they gorge, that for two months they beat about, and for two more they go naked, that for two months they play the reed, and for two more they wallow. The explanation of this is, that they dance from the number of the fleas,[6] then gorge off the Nabq plum;[7] they beat about with fly-flaps to chase away the

[1] On the S.-W. bank of the sea of Tiberias or Gennesareth, built by the tetrarch Herod Antipas, in honour of the Roman emperor Tiberius, from whom it derived its name (Smith II. 1196). The modern Ṭabariyyah is built close to the ruins of the old town.

[2] The Valley of Canaan is evidently the Ghaur, or Jordan Valley, which according to Ibn Ḥauqal commences at the lake of Tiberias, and extends as far south as the Dead Sea, and even to Ailah. The name occurs also in Abul-Fidā' II. 28 note 3.

[3] According to Yāqūt (III. 509), Ṭabariyyah is situated under a hill, and commanded by the mountain called aṭ-Ṭūr, which is at 4 *farsakhs* from it (III. 557).

[4] The principal lake of Palestine in the province of Galilæa, traversed in a direction N.-W. and S.-E. by the river Jordan. According to Abu-l-Fidā' (I. 43), it has a circumference of about two days' journey, and its size is stated to be 12 miles long and 6 miles broad (II. 21). The waters of the sea of Galilee or Gennesareth, are fresh and full of fish. Smith II. 1197.

[5] Baths built over the hot-springs which are in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. The medicinal hot-springs of Tiberias are famous. They are half an hour to the south of the city. The place is called Emmaus by Josephus.

[6] An Arab saying is that "the king of the fleas hold his court at Tiberias."

[7] *Nabq* is the fruit of the lote-tree *Zizyphus Lotus*. In his chapter on Egypt (p. 204), al-Muqaddasī describes it as 'a fruit of the size of the medlar, having a large stone (not 'numerous kernels' as Le Strange translates), and sweet to the taste.' The author is there describing the things which although specialities of Syria are yet found in Egypt. He then goes on to say that 'they have in addition the *naidah*, etc.' Le Strange has mistaken the sense of

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wasps from the meat and the fruits, then they go naked from the excessive heat; they suck the sugar-canes, and then they have to wallow through their muddy streets. Beyond the lower end of the lake is a great bridge,[1] over which lies the Damascus road. The inhabitants get their supply of drinking water from the lake. Around its shores are villages and palm-trees, and boats sail to and fro on the lake. The water from the baths and the hot springs flows into the lake, and hence strangers do not find its water to their taste. It abounds in fish, and the water is easy of digestion. The mountain, which is of great height, overhangs the town. Qadas[2] is a small town at the foot of a hill. It is a place of great plenty. The district of the town is Jabal 'Āmilah.[3] There are in Qadas three springs, from which the inhabitants drink, and they have one bath situated at the lower part of the town. The mosque is in the market, and in its court is a palm-tree. The place is very hot. At the distance of a *farsakh* there is a lake,[4] the waters of which flow into the Lake of Tiberias. The lake has been formed by building a marvellous dam across the river. Along the shore is a forest of the Ḥalfa-reed,[6] which affords 162.

this passage, giving us to understand that they add the *naidah* to the fruit to make a kind of confection. *See* note 1 on page 27 of *Description of Syria*.

[1] The Jisr al-Majāmi', crossing the Jordan. Dimashqī, p. 108. The distances along the route between Damascus and Tiberias are as follows:—Dimashq to al-Kuswah 12 miles,—Jāsim 24 m.,—Fīq, or Afīq (the ancient Apheca), 24 m.,—Ṭabariyyah 6 miles. Ibn Khurdādhbah, p. 78.

[2] A village on the hills opposite the marshes of *Hûlet-Bânids*, identified with the ancient city of Kedesh of Naphtali. *See* Smith II. 104*a*.

[3] Abu-l-Fidā' II. p. 5 and *n* 7. Ad-Dimashqī, pp. 23, 200 and 211. The district occupies the Upper Galilee of antiquity.

[4] The Ḥūlah Lake, sometimes called the Lake of Bāniyās (Paneas), as in Abu-l-Fidā' I. 48. The three principal sources of the Jordan unite their waters some distance above the lake, to which they run in one stream. The region is full of fountains and rivulets. *Cf.* Smith II. 520*a*. From the situation of Qadas in the neighbourhood of this lake, it is sometimes called the Lake of Qadas, as in Dimashqī, pp. 107 and 201. The lake now called the *Lake of Homs*, was known as the lake of Qadas also, from another town of this name in the vicinity of Ḥimṣ. The latter lake is on the river Orontes, and it is across this river that a dam has been built to confine the waters of the lake (Abu-l-Fidā' I. 50). Our author has evidently confounded one lake with the other, from the identity of names.

[6] The Ḥalfa-reed is *Arundo epigeios*. The name is also given to a species of gramineous plant (*Poa*) used for making mats. The botanical name of this plant

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the people their livelihood, for they weave mats and make ropes therefrom. In this lake are numerous kinds of fish, especially that called the *Bunnī*, which was brought here from Wāsiṭ. Qadas is inhabited by many tributaries. Jabal 'Āmilah boasts many fine villages, and grows grapes and other fruits and olives, and has many springs. The rain-fall waters its fields. This mountain overhangs the sea, and joins the Lebanon range.—Adhri'āt[1] is a city close to the desert. To it belongs the district of Jabal Jarash,[2] which lies opposite to Jabal 'Āmilah. It is full of villages, and the prosperity of Tiberias depends upon these two districts (of Jabal Jarash and Jabal 'Āmilah).—Baisān[3] lies on the river. It abounds in palm-trees, and produces all the rice consumed in Palestine and the Jordan district. Water is here abundant, and the town is of wide extent, but its water is heavy of digestion.—Al-Lajjūn,[4] a city on the borders of Palestine, towards the hills. Running water is found here. It is extensive and pleasant.—Kābul[5] is a town on the coast. It has fields of sugar-canes, from which they make excellent sugar. Al-Farādhiyah is a large village, in which is a mosque with a pulpit. Grapes abound here, and vineyards. The water is plentiful, and the country round is pleasant.—'Akkā (Acre)[6] is a fortified city on the sea. Its mosque is very large,

according to Lane is *Poa multiflora*, or *Poa cynosuroïdes*. Canon Tristram considers the Ḥalfa-reed here mentioned represents the *Papyrus antiquorum*, which grows extensively in the Ḥūlah Lake. *See* Le Strange's Translation, p. 28 *n.* 2.

[1] The ancient Adraa, near the sources of the river Yarmūk (Hieromax). Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 30) describes it as the chief place in the district of al-Baṯhaniyyah.

[2] Called also the Mountain of 'Auf, now known as Jabal 'Ajlūn.

[3] Bethsan, or Scythopolis, was situated in a rising ground on the west side of the Ghaur, *i.e.*, the Valley of the Jordan, not far from the river. The town was built along the banks of a rivulet and in the valleys formed by its several branches. (Smith I. 399). It is 18 miles to the south of Tiberias.

[4] The Legio of classical writers, identified with the Megiddo of Scripture It is 15 Roman miles west of Nazareth, on the western border of the great plain of Esdraelon. Al-Lajjūn is on the great caravan road between Egypt and Damascus. (Smith II. 153). Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 5) places it at half a day's journey to the west of Baisān.

[5] The *Cabul* of Scripture (Josh. xix. 27) and the Chabolo of Josephus.

[6] The Ace of the ancients, and the Accho of the Old Testament (Judg. i. 31), a town and seaport of Syria, and in ancient times a celebrated city. It is situated on a small promontory, at the northern extremity of the Bay of

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having in its court a grove of olive trees, which yield oil sufficient for the lamps of the mosque, and to spare. The city was not so well fortified, until the time when Ibn Ṭūlūn[1] visited it. He had seen the fortifications of Tyre, and the walls which are there carried round so as to protect the harbour; and he wished to make the harbour at 'Akkā as impregnable as that of Tyre. 163.
He summoned the artificers of the whole province; but when the matter was laid before them, they all averred that none in those days knew how the foundations of a building could be laid in the water. Then one mentioned to him the name of my grandfather, Abū Bakr the Architect, saying that if perchance any had knowledge in these matters, it would be he alone. So Ibn Ṭūlūn wrote to his lieutenant in Jerusalem, commanding that he should send my grandfather to him. On his arrival they laid the affair before him. 'The matter is easy,' said my grandfather; 'let them bring such sycamore beams as are large and strong.' These beams he then arranged on the surface of the water, according to the plan of a land-fort, binding them one to the other; while towards the west he left the opening for a mighty gateway. And upon these beams he raised a structure with stones and cement. After every five courses he strengthened the same by setting in great columns; and as the beams became more and more weighted, they began to sink down, and when he knew that they had rested on the sand, he left them for a whole year in order that they might become firmly embedded. He then began again to build, from where he had left off; and as the building rose to the height of the ancient city wall, he joined both together, rivetting the new work into the old. He then built a bridge across the gate, so that every night the ships enter within the harbour, and a chain is drawn across as in Tyre. It is reported that my grandfather received for this matter the

Acre. It is generally known as *St. Jean D'Acre*, or simply *Acre*, from the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in whose possession it remained for about a century.

[1] Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, founder of the dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids in Egypt. In 254 A.H., he obtained the post of governor of Egypt, and shortly after succeeded in creating for himself an independent kingdom. Under al-Mu'tamid he made the conquest of the whole of Syria, and died in A.H. 270 (A.D. 883–884), after a rule of about twenty-six years. He was succeeded by his son Khumārawaih, the dynasty lasting for twenty-one years longer.

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sum of 1,000 dīnārs, besides robes of honour, horses, and other gifts, and his name was inscribed over the work. Before this harbour was made, the enemy were wont to make raids on the ships in port.—Al-Jashsh [1] is a village that is almost of the size of a district capital. It lies in the centre of four small cultivated districts, in the vicinity of the sea.—Ṣūr (Tyre)[2] is a fortified town on the sea, or rather in the sea. It is entered through one gate only, over a single bridge, and the sea surrounds
164. it. The part of the town which projects into the sea, is an area enclosed by three walls with no earth appearing. Into this harbour the ships come every night, and then a chain is drawn across. This is the chain which Muḥammad ibnu-l-Ḥasan mentions in the Book of Compulsion (*Kitābu-l-Ikrāh*).[3] Water is brought into the town by means of an aqueduct supported above the ground. Tyre is a beautiful and pleasant city. Many useful arts flourish here, and they have many specialities. Between Acre and Tyre lies a sort of bay, and thus the proverb says 'Acre is opposite Tyre, but to get to it you will have to go round' —that is around the water.

Ar-Ramlah[4] is the capital of Palestine. It is a fine city, and well-built; its water is good; its air is healthful; and it abounds in fruits and things of the most opposite nature, situated as it is in the midst of fertile districts and flourishing towns, near to holy places and pleasant villages. Commerce here is thriving, and means of livelihood easy. There is no finer mosque is Islām than its mosque; and no bread so good and delicious as its white bread. No lands are more favoured, nor has any country more luscious fruits. It stands among fruitful fields; and it is surrounded by towns and strong military posts. It possesses beautiful hostelries and pleasant baths, palatable food and condiments of all kinds, spacious

[1] The town called Gischala by Josephus. Yāqūt (II. 83) places it between Ṣūr and Ṭabariyyah, in the direction of the sea.

[2] For a description of this most celebrated and important city of Phœnicia see Smith under TYRUS and PHŒNICIA.

[3] See Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, Vol. III, Book XXXIV, p. 452. The *Kitābu-l-Ikrāh* of Muḥammad ibnu-l-Ḥasan ash-Shaibānī, is given in Ḥājī Khalfa, Vol. V, p. 48, No. 9882.

[4] Ar-Ramlah was built by Sulaimān ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik (715–717 A.D.), after the destruction of Lydda, probably on the site of the ancient Ramath-Lehi, of which the name Ramlah appears to be a modification. The town derives its name from the *sandy* though fertile plain in which it is situated.

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houses, fine mosques and broad roads, and many advantages besides. It is situated on the plain, and is yet near both to the mountains and the sea. It has both fig-trees and palms; its fields need no irrigation, and nature has endowed it with many good things and excellences. Its disadvantages, on the other hand, are that in winter the place is a slough of mud, while in summer it is a powder-box of sand, where no water flows, neither is anything green, nor is the soil moist, nor is there snow. Fleas here abound. The wells are deep and salt, and the rain-water is hoarded in closed cisterns; hence the poor go thirsty, and strangers seek in vain. So too the seats before the baths are filled with expectant bathers, while the servants are grinding at the water-wheels. 165
The city is rather more than one mile long by one mile broad; its houses are built of finely-quarried stones and baked bricks. Such as I know of its gates are: the Gate of the Soldiers' Well (Darb Bi'r al-'Askar),[1] the Gate of the 'Annabah[2] mosque, the Gate of Jerusalem, the Gate of Bīla'ah,[3] the Lydda Gate (Darb Ludd), the Jaffa Gate (Darb Yāfā), Darb Miṣr (Egypt), and the Dājūn Gate. Close to ar-Ramlah is the town of Dājūn,[4] with its mosque. The chief mosque of ar-Ramlah is in the market, and it surpasses in elegance and beauty even that of Damascus. It is called al-Abyaḍh (the white mosque). In all Islām there is not a larger *miḥrāb* than that of this mosque, and its pulpit is the most exquisite that is to be seen after that of Jerusalem; it also possesses a beautiful minaret. The mosque was built by Hishām ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik.[5] I have heard my uncle relate that when the Caliph was about to build the mosque it was reported to him that the Christians possessed columns of marble, which they had prepared for the Church of Bāli'ah, lying buried beneath

[1] Al-'Askar is the name of one of the quarters of ar-Ramlah. *See* supra, p. 42.

[2] The village of 'Annabah lies west of ar-Ramlah. In the Onomasticon, Jerome mentions it under the name of Anab.

[3] Doubtless the same as Bāli'ah, which in Yāqūt (I. 479) is given as the name of a village in the district of al-Balqā'. It is probably the ancient Kirjath-Baal, or Kirjath-Jearim, identified with the present *Kuryet-el-'Enâb*, on the road to *Ramleh*.

[4] Yāqūt II. 515. Beth-Dagon, now *Beit-dajan*, a few miles to the east of *Jaffa*.

[5] The tenth Caliph of the House of Umayyah, who died A.H. 125 (A.D. 743) after a reign of twenty years.

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the sand;[1] thereupon Hishām informed the Christians that they must either show him where the columns lay, or that he would demolish their church at Lydda, in order to employ its columns for the building of his mosque. The Christians accordingly unearthed their columns, which were very thick and tall and beautiful. The floor of the covered portion of the mosque is paved with marble, and the court with cut stone. The gates of the covered part are made of cypress wood and cedar, inlaid with carved patterns and very beautiful in appearance.

Jerusalem (Baitu-l-Maqdis). Among provincial towns none is larger than Jerusalem, and many capitals are in fact smaller, as, for instance, Iṣṭakhr and Qā'in and al-Faramā. Neither the cold nor the heat is excessive here, and snow falls but rarely. The Qāḍhī Abu-l-Qāsim, son of the Qāḍhī of the two Holy Cities,[2] inquired of me once concerning the climate of Jerusalem. I answered, 'It is temperate—neither very hot not very cold.' Said he in reply, 'The very description of Paradise.' The houses are of stone, and the building is nowhere finer or more solid. In no place will you meet with a people more chaste, and nowhere is living so agreeable, or the markets so clean. The mosque is of the largest, and not anywhere are Holy Places more numerous. Its grapes are excellent, and its quinces are unequalled. In Jerusalem are men of the highest learning and skill; the hearts of the wise are ever drawn towards it; and never for a day are its streets empty of strangers. It so happened that one day at al-Baṣrah I was seated in the assembly of al-Qāḍhī-l-Mukhtār Abū Yaḥyā Ibn Bahrām, and the conversation turned on the city of Cairo (and others).[3] Then one said, speaking to me, 'Which town is the most illustrious?' I replied 'My own.' 'And which is the pleasantest?' I again answered, 'My own.' It was then said, 'Which is the most excellent?' 'Which is the most beautiful?' 'Which is the most productive of good things?' 'Which is the most spacious?' To each and all I replied, 'My own.' Then the company were astonished, and they said to me, 'Thou art a man of erudition, but thou dost advance now more than can be accorded to thee, in our belief. One can only liken thee to

1 See note under Bīla'ah.

2 Qāḍhi-l-Ḥaramain, *i.e.*, Makkah and al-Madīnah.

3 In MS. C.

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the owner of the she-camel in the presence of al-Ḥajjāj.[1] Thy allegations remain to be proved, however.[2] So I answered them and spake: 'Now, as to my saying that Jerusalem is the most illustrious of cities, it is because the city unites in itself the advantages of both this World and the Next. He who is of the sons of this World and yet is ardent in the matters of the Next, will find here the market-place for It; while he who would be of the men of the Next World, though his soul clings to the good things of This, he too will find these here! And as for pleasantness of climate, the cold there does not injure, and the heat is not noxious. And as to its being the finest city, nowhere is to be seen a city more finely built or cleaner, or a mosque that is more beautiful. And as to its being the most productive of all places in good things, God—may He be exalted—has gathered together here all the fruits of the lowlands, and of the plains, and of the hill country, even all those of the most opposite kinds; such as the orange and the almond, the date and the nut, the fig and the banana, (besides milk in plenty, and honey and sugar).[3] And as to the excellence of the city, it is the plain of the Resurrection, where all men shall be brought together for the last judgment. Verily Makkah and al-Madīnah have their superiority by reason of the Ka'bah and the Prophet—peace and blessing be upon him—but verily, on the Day of Judgment, they will both be brought to Jerusalem, and the excellences of them all will there be united. And as to Jerusalem being the most spacious of cities; since all mankind are to assemble there, what place on the earth can be more extensive than this?' The company were pleased with my words, agreeing to the truth of them. Still Jerusalem has some disadvantages. Thus, it is reported as found written in the Torah, that 'Jerusalem is a golden basin filled with scorpions.' Then you will not find baths more filthy than those of the Holy City; nor in any place are the charges so heavy. Learned men are few, and the Christians numerous; they are churlish in their manners. In the Public Square and in the hostelries taxes are heavy on all that is sold, for there are guards at every gate, and no one is able to sell aught whereby to obtain a profit, except in these places;

[1] "This has reference to a well-known story of a Bedawin who, in praising his camel to al-Ḥajjāj, the Governor of 'Irāq, described her as being possessed of every possible and impossible virtue." Le Strange.

[2] From MS. C.

[3] In MS. C.

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although the people are generally poor. In this city the oppressed have no succour; the meek are molested; and the rich envied. Jurisconsults remain unvisited, and erudite men forgotten; moreover the schools are unattended, and no lectures are read. The Christians and the Jews are predominant; and the mosque is void of either congregation or assembly of learned men. Jerusalem is smaller than Makkah, and larger than al-Madīnah. Over the city is a Castle, one side of which is against the hill-side, while the other is defended by a ditch.[1] Jerusalem has eight iron gates: Bāb Ṣihyaun (of Sion), Bāb at-Tīh (of the Wilderness), Bābal-Balāṭ (of the Court, or Palace), Bāb Jubb Iramyā (of Jeremiah's Grotto), Bāb Sulwān (of Siloam), Bāb Arīḥā (of Jericho), Bāb al-'Amūd (of the Column), and Bāb Miḥrāb Dā'ūd (of David's Oratory). There is water in Jerusalem in plenty. Thus, it is a common saying, that 'There is no place in Jerusalem but where you may

[1] The citadel, 'al-Qal'ah,' close to the Jaffa gate, on the west. In the 16th century it was known as the castle of the Pisans. The square tower of David (the ancient Phasaelus) rises within the citadel.

[2] The following, taken from the *Encyc. Brit.*, is a conspectus of the gates f Jerusalem at different times in consecutive order:—

Modern Name.	Twelfth Century.	Fourth to Eighth Centuries.	Position.
1. St. Stephen's Gate, *Bâb Sitti Maryam.*	Gate of Valley of Jehosaphat.	Gate of Valley of Jehosaphat.	E. wall.
2. Herod's Gate, *Bâb ez Zahrah.*	Postern of the Magdalen.	Gate of Benjamin .	N. „
3. Damascus Gate, *Bâb el 'Amûd.*	St. Stephen's Gate	Gate of Galilee ... / Gate of Neapolis ...	N. „
4.	Postern of St. Lazarus, *Bâb es Serb.*	Gate of Fuller's Field / Gate of Judgment ...	N. „
5. Jaffa Gate, *Bâb el Khalîl.*	Gate of David ...	Gate of David ...	W. „
6. Sion Gate, *Bâb Neby Dâûd.*	Sion Gate ...	Sion Gate ...	S. „
7. Dung Gate, *Bâb el Maghâribeh.*	Postern of Tannery	Gate of Tekoa ...	S. „
8. Golden Gate, *Bâb ed Daherîyeh.*	Golden Gate ...	... ...	E. „

Read Le Strange's copious notes on the gates of Jerusalem in his *Description of Syria*, and Colonel Sir C. Wilson's further notes on page 100 of the same.

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get water and hear the call to prayer.' Indeed, few are the houses that have not one or more cisterns. Within the city are three large tanks, namely, the Birkat Banī Isrā'īl, the Birkat Sulaimān, and the Birkat 'Iyāḍh.[1] The baths are constructed in the vicinity of these tanks, and to them lead water channels from the streets. In the Mosque (the Ḥaram Area) there are twenty underground cisterns of vast size,[2] and there are few quarters of the city that have not public cisterns, though the water in these last is only the rain water that drains into them from the streets. At a certain valley, about 6 miles from the city, they have constructed two tanks,[3] into which the torrents of the winter rains flow. From these two reservoirs, the water is conducted to Jerusalem by an aqueduct, which in the spring fills the cisterns in the Mosque itself and also those in other places. The Masjidu-l-Aqṣā[4] (the Furthest Mosque) lies at the south-eastern corner of the city. Its foundations were laid by David, each stone being ten cubits, or a little less in length. The stones are chiselled, finely faced, and jointed, and of hardest material. On these foundations 'Abdu-l-Malik subsequently built,[5] using smaller but well-shaped

[1] Birkat Banī Isrā'īl is the well-known *Birket Isrâîl*, situated immediately north of the Ḥaram, and measuring 360 by 130 feet. From Yāqūt (IV. 594, line 20), the Birkat Sulaimān appears to have been called after Solomon. The Birkat 'Iyāḍh is called after 'Iyāḍh ibn Ghanm, one of the Companions, and a leader of the Syrian Army of conquest. He is said to have built a bath in the Holy City, and perhaps the Birkat 'Iyāḍh is the tank now called 'the Pool of the Bath,' or the Patriarch's Pool near the west (the ancient Amygdalon or "Tower Pool.") The site of the other tank is also doubtful. The Twin Pools north of the Ḥaram may represent the Birkat Sulaimān.

[2] The great reservoirs in the temple enclosure were capable of holding a total supply of 10 million gallons of water.

[3] The so-called pools of Solomon, on the road to Hebron, at the head of a valley called *Wady Etân*. The aqueduct which leads from these fountains to the temple, a distance of 7 miles, was constructed by Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator. The pools were situated at Etam, the pleasure resort of King Solomon. *Cf.* Smith I. 854*b*. The distance of 6 miles in the text is from MS. C.

[4] So called from Qur'ān xvii. 1. The name al-Aqṣā originally applied to the whole temple area, but is now generally confined to the building at the south end of the Ḥaram. It was built by order of the caliph 'Umar, on the site of Justinian's church of St. Mary. The great sanctuary of Jerusalem is now known as the Mosque of 'Umar.

[5] The Mosque was commenced in A.D. 688, and completed in three years.

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stones, and battlements were added above. This mosque was even more beautiful than that of Damascus,[1] but in the days of the 'Abbāsides an earthquake occurred which threw down most of the main building; all, in fact, except the part around the miḥrāb. Now when the Caliph of that day[2] obtained news of this, he enquired and learned that not all the sums in the treasury would suffice to restore the mosque to its former state. So he wrote to the Governors of the Provinces and to other Commanders, directing that each should undertake the building of a colonnade. The order was carried out, and the edifice rose firmer though less elegant than it had been; and the more ancient portion remained, even like a beauty spot, in the midst of the new. This portion extends as far as the limit of the marble columns, for beyond, where the columns are of concrete, the later part commences. The main building of the mosque has twenty-six doors. The door opposite to the miḥrāb is called Bābu-n-Nuḥāsi-l-A'ḍham (the Great Brazen Gate); it is plated with gilded brass, and is so heavy that only a man strong of shoulder and of arm can turn it on its hinges. To the right hand of the Great Gate are seven large doors, the centre one of which is covered with gilt plates; and after the same manner there are seven doors to the left. And further, on the eastern side are eleven doors, unornamented. Over the first-mentioned doors, fifteen in number, is a colonnade supported on marble pillars, which was erected by 'Abdu-llah ibn Ṭāhir.[3] In the court of the mosque, on the right-hand side, are colonnades supported by marble pillars and pilasters; and on the further side are halls, vaulted in stone. Over the centre part of the main building of the mosque is a mighty gable roof behind a magnificent dome. The ceiling everywhere, with the exception of

[1] MS. C adds: For during the building of it they had for a rival and as a comparison the great church (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) belonging to the Christians at Jerusalem, and they built this to be even more magnificent than that other.

[2] Said to have been the caliph al-Mahdī (A.D. 774–785); but after the great earthquake, it was al-Ma'mūn who restored the buildings of the sanctuary. His name is still read on a Cufic inscription on the Dome of the Rock.

[3] 'Abdu-llah, son of Ṭāhir ibnu-l-Ḥusain, the great general of al-Ma'mūn, was appointed governor of Syria and Egypt in A.H. 206 and in A.H. 213 succeeded his brother Ṭalḥah to the governorship of Khurāsān, which had become hereditary in the family. He died in A.H. 230.

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that of the halls on the further side of the court, is formed of lead in sheets, but in these halls the ceilings are faced with large mosaics studded in. The court is paved in all parts; in its centre rises a platform, like that in the mosque at Yathrib (al-Madīnah), to which from all four sides ascend broad flights of steps. On this platform stand four domes. Of these, the Dome of the Chain,[1] the Dome of the Ascension,[2] and the Dome of the Prophet,[3] are of small size, and their domes are covered with sheet lead, and are supported on marble pillars, being without walls. In the centre of the platform is the Dome of the Rock,[4] which rises above an octagonal building having four gates, one opposite to each of the flights of steps leading up from the court. These four are, the Qiblah (or Southern) Gate, the Gate of Isrāfīl,[5] the Gate of the Trumpet (aṣ-Ṣūr),[6] and the Women's Gate (Bābu-n-Nisā'), which last opens towards the west. All these are adorned with gold, and closing each of them is a beautiful door of cedar-wood finely carved. These last were sent by command of the mother of al-Muqtadir-Bi-llāh.[7] At each of the gates is a balustrade of marble and cedar-wood, with brass work without; and in the railing, likewise, are gates, but these are unornamented. Within the building are three concentric colonnades, with columns of the most beautiful polished marble that can be seen, and above is a low vaulting. Within these again is the central hall over the Rock; the hall is circular, not octagonal, and is surrounded by columns of polished marble supporting round arches. Built above these, and rising high into the air, is the drum in which are large openings; and over the drum is the Dome. The Dome, from the floor up to the pinnacle, is in height a hundred cubits, and is seen from afar off. Its beautiful pinnacle is of the height of a man's stature and an arm's

[1] Qubbatu-s-Silsilah, facing the eastern door of the Dome of the Rock.

[2] Qubbatu-l-Mi'rāj to the north-west. The Mi'rāj has reference to the Prophet's ascent into Heaven in his famous night journey.

[3] Qubbatu-n-Nabī, to the N.-W. of the Dome of the Rock. Yāqūt (IV. 594) names this 'the Dome of the Prophet David.'

[4] Qubbatu-ṣ-Ṣakhrah.

[5] The Gate of Isrāfīl, the Angel of Death, is to the east, facing the Dome of the Chain.

[6] This is the northern gate, called also Bābu-l-Jannah, Gate of Paradise.

[7] The 18th of the dynasty of the 'Abbāsids; reigned A.H. 295–320 (A.D. 908-932).

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length. The Dome, notwithstanding its great size, is completely covered with gilded brass plates, while the building itself, its floor and its walls and the drum, both within and without, are ornamented with marble and mosaics,[1] after the manner that we have already described when speaking of the mosque of Damascus. The cupola of the Dome is built in three sections: the inner is of ornamental plates; next come iron girders interlaced, so that the wind may not deflect them; and the third casing is of wood, on which are fixed the outer plates. Up through the middle of the cupola goes a passage way, by which a workman may ascend to the pinnacle for inspection or repair. When the light of the sun strikes on the Cupola, and the drum catches the rays, then is this edifice so marvellous to behold, that in all Islām I have never seen its equal; neither have I heard tell of aught built in countries of the Infidels that could rival in splendour this Dome of the Rock. The Mosque[2] is entered through thirteen openings closed by twenty gates. These are, the Bāb Ḥiṭṭah (the Gate of Pardon or Indulgence),[3] the two Gates of the Prophet, the Gates of Mary's Oratory (Miḥrāb Maryam), the two Gates of Mercy (ar-Raḥmah), the Gate of the Birkat (or Pool of) Banī Isrā'īl, the Gates of the Tribes (al-Asbāṭ), the Gates of the Hāshimites, the Gate of al-Walīd, the Gate of Ibrāhīm (Abraham), the Gate of Umm Khālid (the Mother of Khālid), and the Gate of David.[4] Of the holy places within the Mosque, are the Miḥrāb Maryam (the Oratory of Mary), Zakariyyā' (of Zachariah), Ya'qūb (of Jacob), and al-Khiḍhr (of Khiḍhr),[5] the Station of the Prophet, and of Jibrā'īl (Gabriel),[6] the Place of the Ants,[7] and of the Light,[8] and of the Ka'bah, and also of the Bridge

[1] From MS. C.

[2] By the term *Al-Masjid*, the Mosque, the whole of the Ḥaram Area is intended.

[3] Referring to Qur'ān ii. 55. This Gate is in the northern wall of the Ḥaram Area.

[4] Read Le Strange's notes on these gates.

[5] In the centre of the Mosque, faming the Dome of the Chain. *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 101.

[6] On the Sacred Rock.

[7] Probably referring to Qur'ān xxvii. 18. The Valley of Ants is placed by some in Syria and by others in Ṭā'if.

[8] Cf. *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 94, "God said unto Moses, 'Go to the Holy City for there My light is'."

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as-Sirāṭ.[1] These shrines are scattered over the Ḥaram Area. On the left hand side of the court there are no colonnades. The main building of the mosque does not extend to the eastern wall of the area; hence it has been said that 'Never will the line of worshippers be complete therein.' Two reasons have been assigned for this portion being left uncompleted. One is that 'Umar commanded the people to erect a building 'in the western part of the area, as a place of prayer for Muslims'; so they left this space (which is on the eastern side) unoccupied, in order not to disobey his injunction. The other reason given is that if they had extended the main building of the mosque as far as the south-east angle of the area wall, the *miḥrab* would not have been opposite the Rock, and this was repugnant to them. But God alone knows the truth. The dimensions of the Mosque, (the Ḥaram Area) are, length 1,000 cubits—of the royal Hāshimite cubits;[2] and width, 700. In the ceilings of its various edifices there are 4,000 wooden beams, supported on 700 marble columns; and the roofs are overlaid with 45,000 sheets of lead. The measurement of the Rock itself is, 33 cubits by 27, and the cavern which lies beneath will hold 69 persons. The endowment of the mosque provides monthly for 100 qists[3] of olive oil, and in the year they use 800,000 cubits of matting. The mosque is served by special attendants; their service was instituted by 'Abdu-l-Malik, the men being chosen from among the Royal Fifth of the Captives taken in War, and hence they are called al-Akhmās (the Quintans). None besides these are employed in the service, and they take their watch in turn.

Sulwān (Siloam)[4] is a village on the outskirts of the city.

[1] According to *Kitābu-l-Buldān*, p. 101, the Bridge of hell will be laid across Wādī Jahannam, outside the Ḥaram Area. See note 4 next page.

[2] The royal ell (Dhirā' Malikī) measured about 18 inches in length. This gives us 1,500 feet by 1,050. Roughly taken, the present dimensions of the Ḥaram Area are 1,500 feet by 900. Le Strange.

[3] The Qisṭ was half a Ṣā', *i. e.*, about a quart and a half of our measure. The name came from the Greek Ξέστης, which represents the Roman Sextarius. Le Strange.

[4] The rock-hewn village of Siloam, in the rocky base of the *Mount of Offence*, overhanging the Kedron. The village is chiefly composed of sepulchral excavations, much resembling a Columbarium (Smith II. 28*b*). Immediately below Sulwān, on the opposite side of the valley is the intermitting *Fountain of the Virgin*, now called the "apring with steps" (*Umm*

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Below this village is a fountain[1] of fairly good water, which irrigates the large gardens which were bequeathed (*Waqf*) by the caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān for the poor of the city. Lower down is the Well of Job (Bi'r Ayyūb).[2] It is said that on the Night of 'Arafah the water of the well Zamzam visits the water of the Pool.[3] Wādī Jahannam[4] runs from the angle of the Mosque to its furthest point, all along the east side. In this valley[5] are gardens and vineyards, churches, caverns and chapels, tombs, and other remarkable spots, also cultivated fields. In its midst stands the church which covers the sepulchre of Mary, and above, overlooking the valley, are many tombs, among which

ed Derej). From this spring a rock-cut tunnel lead through the Ophel ridge to the Pool of Siloam (now *Birket Silwān*). This pool is a rock-cut reservoir with masonry retaining-walls measuring 52 feet by 18 feet. It is mentioned in the New Testament (*St. John* ix. 7, etc.), and is identical with the "Pool of Siloah by the king's garden" in Nehemiah (iii. 15; ii. 14). *Ibid.*

[1] The pool of Siloah is called the fountain (πηγή) by Josephus (*B.J.* v. 4, 1).

[2] A well 125 feet deep to the south of the Pool of Siloam. It is variously called the *Well of Nehemiah*, of *Job*, or *Joab*, and is supposed to be identical with En Rogel, mentioned in the borders of Judah and Benjamin, and elsewhere. The waters of the *Bîr Eyûb* overflow annually through a hole in the ground near the well, and a running stream then flows for many days down the Kidron valley. *Encyc. Brit.* XIII. 643.

[3] C adds: 'The people hold a festival here that evening.' Perhaps the idea originated in the annual overflow of the waters of the *Bîr Eyûb*, which is a cause of rejoicing to the inhabitants, who make it a holiday occasion. *Ibid.* The Night of 'Arafah is the night before the ninth day of the pilgrimage, on which the pilgrims visit Mount 'Arafāt, 12 miles from Makkah. The day is the 9th of the month Dhu-l-Ḥijjah.

[4] The Valley of Hinnom (Gehenna, Jahannam) is the name of the western ravine flanking the city on the west and south, and now called W. er Rabâby. The Wādī Jahannam of al-Muqaddasī, however, is the Valley of Jehoshaphat or Kedron, bounding the site of Jerusalem on the east. Perhaps the reason why al-Muqaddasī calls the Valley of Jehoshaphat *Wādī* Jahannam, may be found in the tradition that the Bridge over the fire of hell is across this valley.

[5] In the bed of the Valley of Jehoshaphat is the *Garden of Gethsemane*, with its eight venerable olive-trees protected by a stone wall; and close by is a subterranean church, in which is shown the reputed tomb of the Virgin. A little to the south of this are two monolithic sepulchral monuments, ascribed to Absalom and Zechariah, and connected with these are two series of sepulchral chambers, one called by the name of *Jehoshaphat* and the other the *Cave of St. James*. (Smith II. 28*b*).

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are those of Shaddād ibn Aus ibn Thābit [1] and 'Ubādah ibnu-ṣ- 172
Ṣāmit.[2]—Jabal Zaitā (the Mount of Olives) [3] overlooks the Mosque from the eastern side of this Valley. On its summit is a mosque built in memory of 'Umar, who sojourned here some days at the time of the capitulation of the city.[4] There is also here a church [5] built on the spot whence Christ ascended into Heaven; and further, near by is the place called as-Sāhirah (the Plain),[6] which, as I have been informed on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, will be the scene of the Resurrection. The ground is white, and blood has never been spilt here.—Bait Laḥm (Bethlehem) [7] is a village about a *farsakh* from Jerusalem, in the direction of Hebron. Jesus was born here; and here was the Palm-tree.[8] Palms in this district do not produce ripe dates, but this was a sign for Mary. There is here a church,[9] the equal of which does not exist anywhere in the country round. Ḥabrā (Hebron),[10] the village of Abraham the

[1] A nephew of Ḥassān ibn Thābit, the Prophet's Poet: He was a learned and pious Companion, who settled in Jerusalem with his family. His death is put in the year of the Hijrah 58 or 64. He was buried outside the Gate of Mercy, and his tomb is well known. Nawawī, p. 312.

[2] Another of the Companions, sent by 'Umar to Syria to instruct the people in the Faith. He was then appointed Qāḍhī of Jerusalem, where he died in A.H. 34. Nawawī, p. 329.

[3] Now called *Jebel et Tôr*, the central summit of the spur running on the east side of the city. It is 2,650 feet above the sea, and is now crowned with a village and a minaret. The name Olivet applies to the mount with its three summits, but more especially to *Jebel et Tôr*.

[4] Jerusalem capitulated to the caliph 'Umar in A.D. 637.

[5] The Basilica built by Helena, the mother of Constantine, in commemoration of the Ascension of our Lord.

[6] In the Qur'ān lxxix. 14.

[7] About six miles from Jerusalem, on the main road to Hebron. It is situated on a lofty ridge, on the eastern part of which the grotto of the nativity is placed by tradition. The modern Bait-Laḥm is a considerable village, inhabited exclusively by Christians.

[8] Referred to in the Qur'ān xix. 23.

[9] The noble basilica which Helena erected, in A.D. 325, over the Place of the Nativity. The church still stands, surrounded by three convents of the Greek, Latin, and Armenian Churches.

[10] Situated in a mountainous district, 20 miles south of Jerusalem. Hebron was frequently the residence of Abraham; hence, the modern town is called *al-Khalīl*, "the friend" of God, the name given by the Muslims to the Patriarch. The town encloses the Ḥaram or sanctuary built over the site of Macpelah, the cave where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried.

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Friend of God (al-Khalīl). Within it is a strong fortress, which, it is said, is of the building of the Jinns,[1] being of great squared stones. In the middle of this enclosure rises a dome of stone built since the times of Islām over the sepulchre of Abraham. The tomb of Isaac lies forward, within the main building of the mosque, while that of Jacob is in the further part. Near by each one of the Prophets (the Patriarchs) lies his wife. The enclosure has been converted into a mosque; and built about it are rest-houses for the Pilgrims, and on all sides the sanctuary is hemmed in with buildings. A small water-channel[2] has been conducted to the town. All the country round Hebron, for the distance of half a stage, is filled with villages, and vineyards, and grounds bearing grapes and apples, and it is even as though it were all but a single orchard of vines and fruit-trees. The district goes by the name of Jabal Nuṣrah. Its equal for beauty does not exist elsewhere, nor can any fruits be finer. A great part of them are sent away to Egypt and into all the country round.[3] In
173 Hebron there is a public guest-house, with a cook, a baker, and servants appointed thereto. These present a dish of lentils and olive oil to every poor person who arrives, and it is even set before the rich if perchance they desire to partake of it. Most men erroneously imagine that this dole is of the original guest-house of Abraham, but in truth the funds come from the bequests of Tamīm ad-Dārī[4] and others. In my opinion it were better to

[1] The high rampart walls of masonry which surround the *Ḥaram* are ascribed by architectural authorities to the Herodian period. Yāqūt (II. 195) ascribes the building of the enclosure to Solomon which explains the reference to the Jinns. The enclosure measures 112 feet east and west by 198 north and south.

[2] There are three principal springs in Hebron on the north, one of which is the Well Sirah, now *'Ain Sárah* (2 Sam. iii. 26).

[3] C: At times, here, apples of good quality will sell at a thousand for the dirham (ten pence); and the weight of a single apple, occasionally, will attain to the equivalent of a hundred dirhams (between ten and eleven ounces).

[4] Tamīn ibn Aus ad-Dārī, one of the Companions of the Prophet. He was a Christian of Syria, who in company with several of his family, visited the Prophet in the 7th year of the Hijrah and embraced Islamism at his hands. He lived in al-Madīnah for some years, but on the death of 'Uthmān removed to Palestine where he died in A.H. 40. He lies buried in Bait-Jibrīn.

According to Yāqūt (II. 195) the Prophet had assigned Hebron and some

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abstain from receiving these alms.[1] At the distance of a *farsakh* from Hebron is a small mountain, which overlooks the Lake of Ṣughar (the Dead Sea) and the site of the cities of Lot. Here stands a mosque built by Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣabāḥī, called Masjidu-l-Yaqīn.[2] In this mosque is seen the sleeping place of Abraham, sunk about a cubit into the stony ground. It is related that when Abraham first saw from here the cities of Lot in the air, he lay himself down there, saying, 'Verily I now bear witness, for the word of the Lord is The Truth.' (Al-Yaqīn). The territory of the Holy City is counted as all the country that lies round within a radius of forty miles. This includes Jerusalem with its dependent villages; twelve miles of the (Mediterranean) Sea; the towns of Ṣughar and Ma'āb, and five miles of the desert. Towards the south the boundary extends to beyond al-Kusaifah[3] and the line of country parallel to it. On the north it reaches to the limits of Nābulus. This, then, is the Land which God—may He be exalted—has called 'Blessed';[4] it is a country, of which the hills are covered with trees and the plains are cultivated without either irrigation or the watering of rivers, even as the two men[5] reported to Moses the son of 'Imrān, saying, 'We came on a land flowing with milk and honey.'

other places to Tamīm and his descendants, in the event of the conquest of Syria; but the author of the *Iṣābah* (I. 372) says that the village of 'Aînūn alone was made over to Tamīm.

[1] Lest the money have been unlawfully obtained. C here adds: The Prince of Khurāsān—may God confirm his dominion—had assigned to this charity 1,000 dirhams yearly; and further, ash-Shār al-'Ādil gave great bequests to this house. At the present day, in all Islām, I know of no charity or almsgiving that is better regulated than is this one; for those who travel and are hungry may eat here of good food, and thus is the custom of Abraham continued, for he, during his lifetime, rejoiced in the giving of hospitality, and after his death, God—may He be exalted—has allowed of the custom becoming perpetuated.

[2] Now known as Maqām Nabī Yaqīn. The sleeping place of Abraham is at the present day known as 'Cain's Grave.' The Mosque is said by 'Ulaimī, to have been built in A.H. 352, A.D. 963.

[3] The present Tell Kuseifeh, lying to the east of Beersheba.

[4] Qur'ān xxi. 71.

[5] Caleb and Joshua. The MS. C adds: I myself at times in Jerusalem have seen cheese sell at a sixth of a dirham for the raṭl, and sugar at a dirham the raṭl; and for that same sum you could obtain either a raṭl and a half of olive oil or four raṭls of raisins.

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174 Bait Jibrîl [1] is a city partly in the hill country, partly in the plain. Its territory has the name of ad-Dārūm,[2] and there are here marble quarries. The district sends its produce to the capital, which is thus the emporium for the neighbouring country. It is a land of riches and plenty, possessing fine domains. The population, however, is now on the decrease, and impotence has possession of many of its men.—Ghazzah (Gaza),[3] a large town lying on the high road into Egypt, on the border of the desert. The city stands not far from the sea. There is here a beautiful mosque; also will be seen the monument of the caliph 'Umar; [4] further, this city was the birthplace of ash-Shāfi'ī,[5] and possesses the tomb of Hāshim [6] ibn 'Abd-Manāf.—Maimās [7] lies on the sea. It is a small fortified town, and belongs to Ghazzah.

[1] The classical Betogarba and Eleutheropolis. It is more generally called Bait Jibrīn "the house of Giants," the city having been situated not far from Gath, the city of Goliath and his family. It is now a large village, about 20 miles west of Hebron. *Beit-Jebrīn* still contains some traces of its ancient importance (Smith I. 397). According to Yāqāt (I. 776), the Valley of the Ants (Qur'ān xxvii. 18), is situated between this town and 'Asqalān.

[2] At the present day Dairān, anciently Daroma. Yāqāt (II. 525) gives the nam ead-Dārūm to a fortress next to Ghazzah on the road to Egypt. It is about one parasang from the sea, which is visible from this point. On this town see Quatremère's *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, Vol. I, Second Part, p. 237.

[3] The ancient city of Ghazzah, situated a short league from the sea-coast, stands on an isolated hill about 100 feet high. The modern city is in a great part built on the plain below. The ruins of the old Majuma Gazæ or Port of Gaza, now called el Mineh, are traceable near the shore. The Hebrew name of the city is Azzah, and means "strong."

[4] Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 113) states that Ghazzah was the trading centre of the people of al-Ḥijāz, in Syria; and that it was in this town that 'Umar made his money in the days of the Ignorance.

[5] See Ibu Khallikān II. 571. Ash-Shāfi'ī was born A.H. 150 (767-8.) He lies buried in the lesser Qarāfah cemetery at Old Cairo near Mount Muqaṭṭam.

[6] The great-grandfather of the Prophet. The Ḥāshimites are the descendants of this Hāshim. Hāshim is said to be the first who appointed the two annual caravans mentioned in the Qur'ān cvi.; one of which set out in the winter for Yaman, and the other in summer for Syria. *See* Ibn Hishām, *Life of Muḥammad*, p. 87.

[7] Μαϊουμα *Maïuma*, the Port of Gaza. In the fifth century the port of Ghazzah was a separate town and episcopal see, under the title Constantia or Limena Gaza. See Smith's *Dict.* I. 981*b*, and Quatremère, *ibid.*, p. 229.

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—'Asqalān (Ascalon),[1] is on the sea. A fine city, and strongly garrisoned. Fruit is here in plenty, especially that of the Sycamore-tree.[2] The great mosque stands in the market of the cloth-merchants, and is paved throughout with marble. The city is beautiful, hallowed in its associations,[3] healthy, and well-fortified. The silk of this place is renowned, its supplies are plentiful, and life there is pleasant. It also possesses good markets, and excellent garrison posts. Only its harbour is unsafe, its waters brackish, and the sand-fly called *Dalam* is most hurtful.—Yāfah (Jaffa), leing on the sea, is but a small town, although the emporium of Palestine and the port of ar-Ramlah. It is protected by an impregnable fortress, with iron-plated gates. The sea-gate is wholly of iron. The mosque is pleasant to the eye, and overlooks the sea. The harbour is excellent.[5]—Arsūf[6] is smaller than Yāfah, but is strongly fortified and populous. There is here a beautiful pulpit, made in the first instance for the mosque of ar-Ramlah, but which being found too small was transferred to Arsūf.—Qaiṣāriyyah (Cæsarea of Palestine).[7] On the coast of the Greek (or Mediterranean) Sea, there is no city more beautiful, nor any better filled with good things: plenty has its well-spring here, and useful

[1] Twelve geographical miles N. of Gaza. This once important city, frequently mentioned in the history of the crusades, is now a desolate heap of ruins. It was spoken of as the Bride of Syria, and was famous, according to Strabo, for the shallot (*Allium Ascalonicum*). See Smith I. 230.

[2] Al-Jummaiz, the *ficus sycomorus*.

[3] As the residence of many of the Companions (*See* Yāqūt III. 674), or as one of the famous strongholds of Islām.

[4] Joppa, the Greek Ἰόππη, Ἰόπη, and Hebrew Japho. The Phœnician original signifies "an eminence." The modern town, the seaport of Jerusalem, is built on a rounded hillock rising 100 feet above the shore. The orchards to the east of the city cover an area of 3 square miles.

[5] The natural unfitness of *Jaffa* for a haven is noticed by travellers of all times. The old harbour is possibly the small bay south of the town, called *Birket el Qamar* ("Moonpool").

[6] On the coast between Cæsarea and Joppa, upon the *Nahr Arsūf*. It was famous in the time of the Crusades, but is now a deserted village. Arsūf represents the ancient Apollonia.

[7] The Roman metropolis of Palestine, 30 miles north of Joppa. It was founded by Herod, and named Cæsaria in honour of Cæsar Augustus. It was celebrated for its harbour, and possessed many important buildings. Its site is still marked by extensive ruins. During the crusading period Cæsaria was one of the chief posts of the invaders.

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products are on every hand. Its lands are excellent, and its fruits delicious; the town also is famous for its buffalo-milk and its white bread.[1] To guard the city there is an impregnable fortress, and without lies the well-populated suburb which the fort protects. The drinking-water of the inhabitants is drawn from wells and cisterns. The town has a fine mosque.—Nābulus[2] lies among the mountains. It abounds in olive-trees, and they even name it the 'Little Damascus.' It is situated in a valley lying between two mountains, which shut in the town on either hand. Its market-place extends from gate to gate, and a second goes to the centre of the town. The mosque is in the midst of the city. Nābulus is finely paved and clean, and has through it a stream of running water;[3] its houses are built of stone; and some remarkable mills are to be seen here.—Arīḥā (Jericho).[4] This is the city of the Giants,[5] and therein is the Gate of which God spake unto
175 the Children of Israel.[6] There grows in these parts much indigo[7]

[1] From MS. C.

[2] Neapolis, commonly supposed to be identical with the Sichem or Shechem of the Old Testament. The Vale of Shechem or Nābulus is a fertile and well-watered side valley between Mount Gerizim (2,849 feet) on the south and Ebal (3,077 feet) on the north. Nābulus is still an important city, containing a population of about 20,000 souls, with considerable trade. Ignorant of the Greek origin of the name, Yāqūt (IV. 723) makes it composed of two words, the Arabic *nāb* "tooth," and the Samaritan *lus* "serpent." According to the opinion he cites, the city was called the "Dragon's Tooth," from a monster serpent in a neighbouring valley, whose tooth was hung on the city gate.

[3] Nābulus abounds with running streams. The traditional Jacob's Well is 1¼ mile from the city, at the N.-E. base of Mount Gerizim, where the *Nābulus* valley meets the broad upland plain of Makhna.

[4] The "city of palm trees," situated in a district of great fertility. Its rich and well cultivated plain was irrigated by the waters of the fountain of Elisha, now called *'Ainu-s-Sulṭān*, the Sultan's Spring. The present village of Rīḥā or Arīḥā stands nearly half-an-hour south-east of this spring. It consists only of a group of squalid huts.

[5] The giant race of the Amalikites who, it is said, were from 800 to 3,300 yards in height; their grapes were so large it required five persons to lift a cluster, and the pomegranates were so large that five persons could get into the shell at once. Wherry's *Commentary*, note on v. 13.

[6] Qur'ān v. 25: 'Enter ye upon them (the people of Jericho) by the Gate of the City, and when ye shall have entered by the same, ye shall surely be victorious.

[7] *Cf.* Abu-l-Fidā' II. 16, 'The indigo-yielding plant called *Wasmah* is here cultivated."

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and many palms, and the city possesses villages in the Ghaur (of the Jordan), whose fields are watered from the springs. The heat in Jericho is excessive. Snakes and scorpions are numerous, also fleas abound. The people are brown skinned and swarthy. On the other hand, the water of Jericho is held to be the lightest (and best) in all Islām;[1] bananas are plentiful, also dates and flowers of fragrant odour.[2]—'Ammān,[3] lying on the border of the Desert, has round it many villages and cornfields. The Balqā'[4] district, of which it is the capital, is rich in grain and flocks. Several streams flow through the town,[5] and the mills are worked by the waters of these. The city has a fine mosque near the market-place, the court of which is ornamented with mosaic. We have stated before that 'Ammān has a resemblance to Makkah.[6] The Castle of Goliath is on the hill overhanging the city. In this city in the Tomb of Uriah, over which is built a mosque. Here, likewise, is the Theatre of Solomon. Living here is cheap, and fruit is plentiful. On the other hand, the people of the place are illiterate, and the roads thither difficult.

[1] The waters of the fountain of Elisha possessed almost miraculous properties. (Smith II. 14*a*). The narrative of the healing of the waters by Elisha (2 Kings ii.) is referred by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, 3) to the copious fountain now called the Sultan's Spring.

[2] Jericho was formerly celebrated for her roses (*Cf.* Ecclus. xxiv. 8) MS. C. adds: This town is the home of the *Tiryāqiyyah* serpents, from the flesh of which, used therein, depends the excellence of the theriac of Jerusalem.

[3] The chief city of the country of the Ammonites, called Rabbah, or Rabbath (*i.e.*, the metropolis) of the children of Ammon. Its name was changed to Philadelphia by Ptolemy Philadelphus who restored it. Rabbath-Ammon was situated on both sides of a branch of the Jabbok, bearing at the present day the name of *Nahr 'Ammān*, the river of Ammon. The ruins of 'Ammān are extensive and imposing. The most important are the remains of a large theatre (Smith II. 597).

[4] This fertile district corresponds with the *Ammonitis*, or country of the Ammonites, lying immediately in the east of the Dead Sea and of the lower half of the Jordan, between the Arnon and the Jabbok (*az-Zarqā'*). The capital of this district was formerly 'Ammān; but afterwards Ḥusbān (the ancient Hesbon) became the capital. (*See* Abu-l-Fidā II. 5). The land of the Moabites is the district now called Karak.

[5] Whence the designation "city of waters" (2 Sam. xii. 27).

[6] See above, page 113. The resemblance is evidently not in the situation, but in general appearance.

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In the village of ar-Raqīm,[1] which lies about a *farsakh* distant from 'Ammān, and on the border of the desert, is a cavern with two entrances—one large, one small—and they say that he who enters by the larger is unable to leave by the smaller unless he have with him a guide. In the cave are three tombs, concerning which Abu-l-Faḍhl Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr related to me the following tradition of the Prophet[2]:—'While three men once were walking together heavy rain overtook them and drove them into a cavern of the mountain. And on a sudden there fell, from the mountain above, a rock which blocked up the mouth of the cave, and behold they were shut in. Then one of them called to the others, saying, "Now, mind ye of such good deeds as ye have done, and call on God thereby, beseeching Him, so that for the sake thereof perchance He may cleave this rock before us." Then one of them cried aloud, saying, "O Lord! of a truth had not I my two parents who were old and feeble, besides my little ones? And I had to tend sheep to support them, and when I returned to them in the evening, I used to milk my ewes, and give first of the milk to my two parents, even before giving of it to my children. Now on a certain day I was detained by the rain,[3] and could not come to them until it was night, and I found my parents slumbering. Then I
176 milked the sheep, as was my wont, and I brought of the milk and came and stood near by unto them, but feared awaking

1 The rock-hewn village of ar-Raqīm was at one time identified with Petra, the capital city of the Nabatœans, now *Wādy Mūsā*. The latter place, the Sela of the Old Testament, was in fact called by the natives Reḳem (רקם), but as all writers agree in placing ar-Raqīm close to 'Ammān, its identification with Petra cannot be sustained.

2 The authorities for this tradition are: Abu-l-Faḍhl Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr; Abū Bakr Ibn Sa'īd; Al-Faḍhl ibn Ḥammād (al-Khabrī),—from Khabr, a small town near Shīrāz: author of *Al-Musnadu-l-Kabīr*, Yāqūt II. 399.—(Sa'īd) Ibn Abī Maryam,=Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd ibnu-l-Ḥakam *al-Ḥafiḍh* al-Miṣrī, A.H. 144–224. (Suqūṭī's *Ḥusnu-l-Muḥāḍharah*, I. 159); Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibu 'Uqbah; Nāfi', (the *Maulā* or freedman of Ibn 'Umar, Nawawī, p. 589); 'Abdu-llāh ibn 'Umar (ibnu-l-Khaṭṭāb, *Nawawī*, p. 357).

3 The text has فُتني السحر, which gives no satisfactory sense. Al-Baiḍhāwī, in his Commentary, *Sūratu-l-Kahf*, ch. xviii, relates the same story in a slightly different way. Here he has حبسني غيث, *I was detained by rain*, which gives us a clue to a proper amendment of the text. The text should read عاقني المطر

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them from their sleep; and further, I was loath to give of it to the children before setting it before them, although the children, in truth, were in distress for want thereof. And thus I remained waiting till the breaking of the dawn. Now, since thou knowest well how I did this thing for love of Thee, so therefore now cause this rock to cleave before us, that through the same we may perceive the sky." Then God caused a cleft to split in the rock, and through it they perceived the sky. Then the second one cried aloud, and said, "O Lord! was there not the daughter of my uncle, whom I loved as passionately as man can love? And when I sought to possess her, she would refuse herself to me saying, that I should bring her a hundred pieces of gold. Then I made effort to collect those hundred pieces, and brought them to her. But even as I was on the point of possessing her, she cried aloud, and said, 'O servant of God, fear Him! and break not the Seal (of virginity), except in lawfulness.' So I rose up from her. And now, verily, as Thou knowest that I did even this for love of Thee, so therefore cleave unto us again a portion of this rock." And God did cleave thereof a further cleft. Then the last man cried aloud, and said, "O Lord! did I not hire a serving man for the customary portion of rice. And when his task was accomplished, he said to me, 'Now give to me my due.' And I gave to him his due; but he would not receive it, and despised it. Then I ceased not to use the same for sowing till by its produce I became possessed of cattle, and of a neat-herd slave. And after long time he came to me and said, 'Fear God! and oppress me not; but give to me my due.' And I, answering him, said, 'Go thou, then, to these cattle and their herdsman and receive them.' Said he again, 'Fear God! and mock me not.' And I answered him, 'Verily I mock thee not, and do thou take these cattle and their herdsman.' And at last he took them and went his way. And now, since Thou knowest how I did this thing for love of Thee, do Thou cause what of this rock remaineth to be cleft before us." Then God caused the whole of it to become cleft before them.'

In the District of Palestine there are many large villages, having each of them their own mosques; and the same are more populous and flourishing than most of the chief cities.

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of the Arabian Peninsula. They are well-known places; but since they neither attain to the renown of powerful cities as such, nor, on the other hand, are of the insignificance of mere hamlets—lying in their degree, as it were, between the two—so is it the more incumbent on us to make special mention of their names, and describe their positions. Among such are the following: Ludd (Lydda),[1] which lies about a mile from ar-Ramlah. There is here a Great Mosque, in which are wont to assemble great numbers of the people from the capital (Ar-Ramlah), and from the villages round. In Lydda, too, is that wonderful Church, at the gate of which Christ will slay the Anti-Christ.[2] Kafar-Sābā,[3] a large place with a mosque, lying on the high road (from ar-Ramlah) to Damascus. 'Āqir,[4] a large village, possessing a fine mosque. Its inhabitants are much given to good works. The bread here is not to be surpassed for quality. The village lies on the high road (from ar-Ramlah) to Makkah.—Yubnā,[5] with its beautiful mosque. From this place come the excellent figs known as 'the Damascene.' 'Amawās,[6] which is said to have been in ancient days the capital of the province, but

[1] Lydda, called by the classical writers Diospolis, is situated in the great plain of Sharon, not more than two miles distant from Ramlah on the north. The ruins of the Crusaders' cathedral of St. George, which probably stood on the site of the older church, are still extant. Lydda was renowned as the burial place of the head of St. George, who according to some accounts was put to death at this city. The connection of St. George and the Dragon with Lydda has not improbably given rise to the Muḥammadan belief that ad-Dajjāl, or Antichrist, will be slain by Jesus at the gate of Ludd.

[2] Concerning ad-Dajjāl, or Antichrist, as known to Muḥammadan theology, see Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, Sec. 4.

[3] The Antipatris of Herod the Great was built on the site of this city which afterwards regained its ancient name. It was situated in a well-watered and richly-wooded plain, near the western hills of the coast of Palestine, and lay about three hours north of Jaffa. The modern village of Kafar-Sābā does not show any traces of the former city. See Smith I. 147.

[4] The Ekron of Joshua xiii. 3.

[5] The Biblical Jabneh, and the Iamnia of classical geographers. It was an inland city, but had its Majuma, or naval arsenal. It was situated between Joppa and Azotus, and was about 12 Roman miles from Lydda. The ruins now called *Yebna* are situated on the west side of *Wâdy Rûbin*, an hour distant from the sea. Smith II. 3.

[6] Or 'Amwās (Emmaus), the Nicopolis of classic times. It was situated on the right hand, or north, of the road from Jerusalem to *Jaffa*, 22 Roman

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that the population removed therefrom, going nearer to the sea, and more into the plain, on account of the wells; for the village lies on the skirt of the hill country. Kafar-Sallām,[1] is one of the villages of the District of Cæsarea. It is very large and populous, and has a mosque. It lies on the high road (from ar-Ramlah northwards). Along the sea-coast of the capital (Ar-Ramlah) are Watch-stations (*Ribāṭ*), from which the summons to arms is given. The war-ships[2] and the galleys of the Greeks come into these ports, bringing aboard of them the captives taken from the Muslims; these they offer for ransom—three for the hundred dīnārs. And in each of these stations there are men who know the Greek tongue, for they have missions to the Greeks, and trade with them in provisions of all kinds. At the stations, whenever a Greek vessel appears, they give the alarm by lighting a beacon on the tower of the station if it be night, or, if it be day, by making a great smoke. From every Watch-station on the coast up to the capital (Ar-Ramlah) are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men. As soon as they perceive the beacon on the tower of the coast Station, the men of the next tower above it kindle their own, and then on, one after another; so that hardly is an hour elapsed before the trumpets are sounding in the capital, and drums are beating from the city tower, calling the people down to that Watch-station by the sea; and they hurry out in force, with their arms, and the young men of the villages gather together. Then the ransoming begins. One prisoner will be given in exchange for another, or money and jewels will be offered; until at length all the prisoners who are in the Greek ships have been set free. And the Watch-stations of this District where this ransoming of captives takes place are: Ghazzah, Maimās, 'Asqalān, Māḥūz- (the Port of) Azdūd,[3] Māḥūz- (the Port of) Yubnā,[4] Yāfah and Arsūf. 177.

miles from the former city. The Emmaus of St. Luke lay about eight or ten miles from this city. Smith I. 824.

1 Placed by Yāqūt (IV. 288) at four *farsakhs* from Cæsarea, between this city and Nābulus. It appears to be the modern Ra'su-l-'Ain.

2 *Shalandiyāt* from the Greek χελάνδιον.

3 The Port of Azotus, the Aramaic word "Māḥūz" signifying, like "Majuma," *portus* or *navale*. Azdūd is the Ashdod of Scripture, situated between *Askelon* and *Jamnia*, south of the latter. The modern village of *Esdûd* occupies the site of the ancient town.

4 The Port of Jamnia, between Joppa and Azotus, Smith II. 3.

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178. Ṣughar.[1]—The people of the two neighbouring districts call the town Ṣaqar (that is, 'Hell'); and a native of Jerusalem writing from here to his friends, once addressed his letter 'From the lower Ṣaqar (Hell) to the upper Paradise.' And verily this is a country that is deadly to the stranger, for its water is execrable; and he who should find that the Angel of Death delays for him, let him come here, for in all Islām I know not of any place to equal it in evil climate. I have seen other pestilential lands, but none so bad as this. Its people are black-skinned and thick-set. Its waters are hot, and the place is even like hell. On the other hand, its commercial prosperity makes of it a little Baṣrah, and its trade is very lucrative. The town stands on the shore of the Overturned Lake[2] (the Dead Sea), and is in truth the remnant of the Cities of Lot, being the one that was spared by reason that its inhabitants knew nothing of their abominations. The mountains rise up near by the town.—Ma'āb[3] lies in the mountains. The district round has many villages, where grow almond trees and vines. It borders on the desert. Mu'tah[4] is one of its villages. Here are the tombs of Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār (the Flyer),[5]

[1] The Zoar of Scripture. This small town, to which Lot escaped from the burning of Sodom, is situated at the southern end of the Dead Sea. Yāqūt describes it under the name of Zughar (II. 933).

[2] See above, page 26 note 4.

[3] Ar of Moab, the classical Areopolis, situated on the south side of the river Arnon. Ar-Moab and Kir-Moab (Karak) were the capitals of the kingdom of the Moabites. Hence the former has been identified by most writers with Rabbath-Moab, although the modern site of *Rabbah* is further south, about halfway between Karak and the *Mūjib* (Arnon).

[4] Placed by Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 24) at less than a day's journey from Karak, in the Balqā'. Mu'tah was the scene of the first campaign of the Muslims against the Greeks, *i.e.*, the Arabs who were subject to the Greek empire. One of the envoys of Muḥammad having been seized and beheaded in the Balqā', an army was directed against them, which was however entirely defeated. This took place in the eighth year of the Hijra (Autumn 629), before the conquest of Mecca.

[5] Abū 'Abdi-llāh Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Hāshimī, the brother of 'Alī and the Prophet's cousin. Ja'far fell bravely at the battle of Mu'tah, A.H. 8. Having lost both arms in the battle, he was furnished in paradise with a pair of wings, with which he flies with the angels in heaven. Hence his surname is aṭ-Ṭayyār, or the Flyer. Ja'far was ten years older than 'Alī.

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and 'Abdu-llah ibn Rawāḥah.[1]—Adhruḥ[2] is an outlying town, on the borders of Syria and al-Ḥijāz. They preserve here the Prophet's Mantle[3] and also a treaty given by him and written on skin.[4]—Wailah[5] stands on an arm of the China Sea. It is a considerable and flourishing city, possessing many palm trees, and fish in plenty. It is the port of Palestine and the emporium of al-Ḥijāz. The common people call it *Ailah*, but the true Ailah lies near by it and is now in ruins. This is the place of which God—may He be exalted—has said: 'Enquire of them concerning the village that was situate on the sea.'[6] Madyan (Midian),[7] this town in reality is within the borders of the Ḥijāz; for the Arab peninsula includes all that is bordered by the sea, and Madyan lies in this tract. Here may be seen the 179.

1 'Abdu-llah ibn Rawāḥah, of the *Anṣār*. He was a poet of repute, and a brave leader. He commanded at the battle of Mu'tah, after the fall of Zaid ibn Ḥārithah and Ja'far, and was slain in the battle, A.H. 8. Nawawī, p. 340.

2 According to Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 24) Adhruḥ and Ma'āb are the two principal towns in Jabalu-sh-Sharāt (Mount Seir). Yāqūt (I. 174) says Adhruḥ, and not Dūmatu-l-Jandal was the meeting-place of the arbitrators between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. At less than a mile from it is the village al-Jarbā', with which its name is often coupled. Adhruḥ is the 'Adru' of Ptolemy. Mr. C. Doughty, who visited the ruins of the city, says they lie about eleven miles north of Ma'ān.

3 This cloak was given by Muḥammad to Yuḥanna (John), son of Ru'bah, the lord of Ailah, who visited him at Tabūk, during the expedition against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hijra. See Yāqūt, I, 423. The cloak preserved by the Sultans as a relic among the paraphernalia of the caliphate is that presented by Muḥammad to the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhair. It was purchased of the family of Ka'b by the caliph Mu'āwiyah, and from him descended to all successors to the throne of the caliphs. In "*Vie de Mahomet*," by Lamairesse and Dujarric, II. 255 and note, it is stated that the Ailah cloak is the one preserved by the Ottoman Sultans, and that it was purchased by Abu-l-'Abbās as-Saffāḥ from the heirs of Yuḥanna.

4 Read the text of this treaty in Lamairesse and Dujarric's *Vie de Mahomet* II. 256. The original will be found in Ibn Hishām's Life of Muḥammad II. 902.

5 Ailah or Wailah, as already stated, is the Scriptural Elath and the Aelana of classical writers, situated on the sea-shore, a little to the north of the modern *Akaba*.

6 Qur'ān VII. 163.

7 A city of the Midianites, situated about half-way down the eastern coast of the Elanitic gulf. It is identified as the modern *Midyan*, identical with the Modiana of Ptolemy. See Smith II. 354*b*.

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stone which Moses removed when he gave water to the flocks of Shu'aib.[1] Water here is abundant. In this town the weights and measures and the customs of the inhabitants, are those of Syria. Syria, al-Ḥijāz, and Egypt dispute between them as to which province belongs Wailah—even as is the case with regard to 'Abbādān—but it is more properly included in Syria, since its weights and measures and the customs of its people are those of that province. Further, as before stated, it is the port of Palestine, from which the merchants sail to sea. Tabūk[2] is a small town, in which stands the Mosque of the Prophet,[3] the blessing and peace of God be with him.

Statistical Account of this Province.

The Climate of Syria is temperate, except in that portion which lies in the centre region of the province, between ash-Sharāt (Mount Seir) and al-Ḥūlah (the Waters of Merom); and this is the hot country where grow the indigo plant, the banana, and the palm. One day when I was staying in Jericho, the physician Ghassān said to me, 'Seest thou this valley?' (that is, the Ghaur). 'Yes,' I answered. And he continued: 'It extends from hence as far as the Ḥijāz, and thence through al-Yamāmah to 'Umān and Hajar; thence passing up by al-Baṣrah and Baghdād towards the left (west) of al-Mauṣil, it reaches to ar-Raqqah, and it is always a Wâdy of heat and of palm trees.' The coldest place in Syria is Ba'labakk and the country round. It is a popular saying in this country that 'it was asked of the Cold, "where shall we find thee?" "In the Balqā'," it said. "But if we meet thee not there?" "Ba'labakk is my permanent home," Cold rejoined.' Now Syria is a land of blessing, a country of cheapness, abounding in fruits, and peopled by holy men. The upper province, which is near the dominions of the Greeks, is richer in streams and fruits, and the climate of it is colder; but the lower province is more favoured and is pleasanter

[1] See Qur'ān XXVIII. 24, Wherry's *Commentary* III. 258, note on verse 24.

[2] A celebrated oasis, midway between Medina and Damascus. It is now one of the principal stations on the pilgrim road between Syria and the Ḥijāz.

[3] The mosque founded by Muḥammad at Tabūk. See Ibn Hishām's Life of Muḥammad II. 907.

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in climate, and its fruits more luscious; it is also more abounding in palm trees. In the whole country there is no river capable of being navigated, except over the ferries. Men of learning are rare to meet with in Syria; non-Muslims are numerous, and so too are lepers. The preachers are held in no kind of consideration. Samaritans are found settled in all the country from Palestine up to the province round Tiberias; but you will meet with neither Magians nor Sabæans. In regard to RELIGIOUS BELIEF, the people of Syria are, for the most part, orthodox, being of those who hold by Authority and Tradition. The people of Tiberias, however, with half the population of Nābulus and Qadas, and the greater number of the men of 'Ammān, are Shī'ahs. The Mu'tazilites here have no power whatever, and they keep themselves concealed. There is a community of the Karrāmites at Jerusalem, who possess cloisters and houses of assembly. Of those who follow the schools of Mālik and Dā'ūd none are to be met with in Syria. The disciples of al-Auzā'ī hold their place of assembly in the mosque of Damascus. In external practices of religion, the people of Syria formerly kept to the rule of the Traditionists. The legists are followers of ash-Shāfi'ī. In 180
nearly every city and town there are disciples of Abū Ḥanīfah, and often the Qāḍhīs (or Judges) are of this school. If it be asked of me :—Why do you not say : that the external practices of religion are carried out after the rule of ash-Shāfi'ī, when the leading doctors there are all of his school? I answer:—That this is the saying of one who cannot observe a distinction; for, of the Shāfi'ite ritual, is the reciting aloud of the 'Bismillāh' and the repetition at the Dawn-prayer of the text called 'Qunūt.' Now, we of Syria, on the contrary, only make use of this prayer during the days of the latter half of the month of Ramaḍhān, in the Ṣalātu-l-Witr. And other practices besides, which the people of Syria do not make use of, and of which they disapprove. Was it not seen how, when, at Tiberias, the Governor of Syria commanded this reciting aloud of the 'Bismillāh,' that the people complained against his tyranny even to Kāfūr the Ikhshīdite,[1] and

1 Al-Ikhshīd is the title borne by the rulers of the province of Farghānah in Transoxiana. In A.H. 327, it was conferred by the caliph ar-Rāḍhī on Muhammad ibn Ṭughj, Governor of Egypt, who was descended from them. Al-Ikhshīd was the founder of a dynasty in Egypt, which lasted from A.H. 323–358 (A.D. 935–969). On his death in 334, he was

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showed utter disapproval of his deed? At the present day however, the external practices of religion are after the ritual of the Fāṭimites; and we shall explain these, please God, with other of their peculiar customs when we come to the chapter on the countries of the West. The READING system most in vogue is that of Abū 'Amr, except only in Damascus, where no one may act as Leader of Prayer in the mosque except he read according to the system of Ibu 'Āmir, this being the best known to the people and the one preferred by them. The system of reading instituted by al-Kisā'ī, further, is much in vogue throughout the province of Syria; indeed they make use of all the seven Readings, and are diligent in their study of them.

COMMERCE.—The trade of Syria is profitable. From *Palestine* come olive-oil, *Quṭṭain*,[1] raisins, the carob-fruit,[2] stuffs of mixed silk and cotton, soap and kerchiefs. From *Jerusalem* come cheeses, cotton, the celebrated raisins of the species known as 'Ainūnī and Dūrī,[3] excellent apples, bananas [4]—which same is a fruit of the form of a cucumber, but the skin peels off and the interior is not unlike the water-melon, only finer flavoured and more luscious,—also pine-nuts of the kind called 'Quraish-Bite,'[5] and its equal is not to be found elsewhere; further—mirrors, lamp-jars, and needles. From *Jericho*, excellent indigo.[6] From *Ṣughar* and *Baisān*, indigo and dates. From *'Ammān*, grain, lambs and honey. From *Tiberias*, carpet stuffs, paper and cloth. From *Qadas*, clothes of the stuff called 'Munayyar' and 'Bal'īsī'[7] and ropes. From *Tyre* come sugar, glass beads and glass vessels both cut and blown. From *Ma'āb*, almond kernels. From *Baisān*,

succeeded by his two sons Abu-l-Qāsim Anūjūr, who died in 349. and Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī. The actual ruler, however, was their vizir Kāfūr, a black eunuch who on the death of 'Alī in 355, succeeded to the throne of his former master. He ruled with great ability, and died in 357 (A.D. 968).

[1] A kind of small Syrian fig, from the Greek κόττανον.

[2] *Khurnūb*. The carob or locust tree; *ceratonia siliqua*.

[3] The 'Ainūnī and Dūrī raisins are from the grapes grown round the villages of Bait 'Ainūn and Dūrah, lying respectively to the north and west of Hebron.

[4] From MS. C.

[5] The seeds of the *Pinus picea*.

[6] *An-Nīl*, the *Indigofera tinctoriæ*.

[7] The *Munayyar* is a cloth of double woof, celebrated for its durability. Of the stuff called *Bal'īsī*, no account is obtainable.

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rice. From *Damascus* come all these: olive-oil fresh pressed, 181
the "Bal'īsī" cloth, brocade, oil of violet of an inferior quality, brass vessels, paper, nuts, dried figs and raisins. From *Aleppo*, cotton, clothes, alkali, and the red ochre called 'al-Maghrah.'[1] *Ba'labakk* produces the sweetmeat of dried figs called 'Malban.'[2] The Quṭṭain figs of *ar-Ramlah*, its omphacine oil, its white bread and its veils are unequalled; also the quinces of *Jerusalem*, its pine-nuts called 'Quraish-Bite,' its 'Ainūnī and Dūrī raisins, its Theriaca, its calamint and its rosaries. And further, know that within the Province of Palestine may be found gathered together six-and-thirty products that are not found thus united in any other land. Of these the first seven are found in Palestine alone; the following seven are very rare in other countries; and the remaining two-and-twenty, though only found thus all together in this province, are for the most part, found associated more or less in other countries. Now the first seven are the pine-nuts called 'Quraish-Bite,' the Quince, the 'Ainūnī and the Dūrī raisins, the Kāfūrī plum, the fig called as-Sibā'ī, and the Damascene fig. The next seven are the Colocasia,[3] the Sycamore,[4] the Carob[5] or St. John's Bread (Locust Tree), the Artichoke,[6] the Lotus-fruit or Jujube,[7] the Sugar-cane, and the Syrian apple. And the remaining twenty-two are the fresh dates and olives, the citron,[8] the indigo plant and Elecampane,[9] the orange, the mandrake,[10] the Nabq fruit,[11] the nut, the almond, the asparagus,[12] the banana,[13] the sumach,[14] the cabbage,[15] the truffle,[16] the lupin,[17] and the

1 The mineral called *Rubrica sinopica*. (Sontheimer).
2 A sweetmeat of fig-paste, pressed into the form of small bricks.
3 *Qalqās*, *Colocasia*. N.O. Araceæ. [Moraceæ.
4 *Jummaiz*, *Sycomorus antiquorum*, the "Sycamore" of the Bible. N.O.
5 *Kharnūb*, *Ceratonia siliqua*. N.O. Leguminosæ.
6 *'Akkūb*, *Synara ecolymus*. N.O. Compositæ.
7 *'Unnāb*, *Zizyphus jujuba*. N.O. Rhamnaceæ.
8 *Utrujj*, *Citrus medica*. N.O. Aurantiaceæ.
9 *Rāsan*, the *Inula helenium*. N.O. Compositæ.
10 *Luffāḥ*, the fruit of *Mandragora officinalis*. N.O. Solanaceæ.
11 The fruit of the *Sidr* tree, the *Zizyphus lotus*. N.O. Rhamnaceæ.
12 *Halyūn*, the *Asparagus officinalis*. N.O. Liliaceæ.
13 *Mauz*, fruit of the banana-tree, or *musa paradisiaca* N.O. Musaceæ.
14 *Summāq*, the *Rhus coriaria*. N.O. Anacardiaceæ.
15 *Karanb*, or *Kurnub*, the *Brassica oleracea*. N.O. Cruciferæ.
16 *Kam'at*, the *Tuberá cibarium* N.O. Fungi.
17 *Tirmis*, the *Lupinuo térmés* N.O. Leguminosæ.

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early prune called "aṭ-Ṭarī"; also snow, buffalo-milk, the honey-comb, the 'Āṣimī grape and the Tamrī- (or date-) fig. Further there is the preserve called Qubbaiṭ;[1] you find in truth the like of it in name elsewhere, but of a different flavour. The Lettuce[2] is found as well, but is reckoned as a mere pot-herb except at al-Ahwāz, where it attains to a luxuriant growth. At al-Baṣrah, too, the lettuce is held as apart from the more common vegetables.

The measures and weights of Syria are these:

Measures of Capacity. The people of ar-Ramlah make use of the *qafīz*, the *waibah*, the *makkūk*, and the *kailajah*. The *kailajah* contains about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ṣā's*. The *makkūk* equals 3 *kailajahs*. The *waibah* is 2 *makkūks*. The *qafīz*[3] is 4 *waibahs*. The people of Jerusalem make use exclusively of the *mudy*,[4] which contains two-thirds of a *qafīz*; and of the *qabb*,[5] which equals a quarter of the *mudy*; and they do not use the *makkūk*, except in the official fiscal measurements. In 'Ammān the *mudy* equals 6 *kailajahs*; their *qafīz* is the half of the *kailajah*, and by this measure they sell their olives and *quṭṭain* figs. In Tyre the *qafīz* is the same as the *mudy* of Jerusalem, and the *kailajah* here equals the *ṣā'*. At Damascus the *ghirārah* contains $1\frac{1}{2}$ Palestine *qafīz*.[6] Measures of

[1] A species of sweetmeat made with Carob-sugar, almonds, and pistachio nuts.

[2] *Khass*, the *Lactuca sativa*. N.O. Compositæ.

[3] From a comparison of the measures of the different provinces, it will be seen that the *qafīz* varies in capacity. The *qafīz* measures of 'Irāq and Mesopotamia, however, are identical; for although they are stated to have contained 6 and 4 *makkūks* respectively (*see* Glossary, p. 331), yet as the *makkūk* of 'Irāq contained 10 *raṭls* only, whereas that of Mesopotamia contained 15, they both held the same quantity, namely 60 *raṭls*.

[4] The name of this measure is taken from the Latin *modius*, the principal dry measure of the Romans. It contained nearly two bushels English.

[5] This is the Hebrew 'cab' which contained a quart and a third. In Greek, too, we have *Κάβος*. The *qabb* was equal to nearly two gallons English.

[6] The following are the Syrian measures, with their approximate values reduced to the English system:

Kailajah	...	...	1 gallon.
Makkūk	...	...	3 gallons.
Waibah	...	...	6 gallons (or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a bushel).
Qafīz	...	...	3 bushels.
Jerusalem Mudy	...	...	2 „
„ Qabb	...	...	$\frac{1}{4}$ bushel.
'Ammān Mudy	...	...	$\frac{3}{4}$ „

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WEIGHT. In Syria, from Ḥimṣ to al-Jifār,[1] the *raṭls* are of six 182
hundred (dirhams of weight), with certain variations; the heaviest being the *raṭl* of 'Akkā (Acre), and the lightest that of Damascus. The *ūqiyyah*[2] (ounce) varies from 50 down to 40 and odd, and every *raṭl* contains 12 *ūqiyyah*, except only at Qinnasrīn, where it is two-thirds of this. The weight of the coinage in Syria, is approximately the same everywhere, the *dirham* should weigh 60 grains, the grain (*ḥabbah*) being the grain of barley-corn. The *dānaq* should weigh 10 grains, and the *dīnār* 24 *qīrāṭs*, the *qīrāṭ* being the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ barley-corns.

CUSTOMS peculiar to Syria. In the Syrian mosques they keep the lamps always lighted, and suspend them by chains as at Makkah. In the chief town of every province, in the great mosque, is a treasure chamber supported upon pillars. Between the main building of the mosque and the enclosure are doors with the exception of Jericho; nor do we find a court paved with pebbles except in the mosque of Ṭabariyyah. The minarets are square, and the roofs of the main buildings of the mosques are gabled in the centre; also, at all the mosque gates, and in the market places, are places set apart for the ablution. It is the custom to be seated between every two *taslīmah* (salutations) of the *tarāwīḥ* prayers[3]; and some persons perform one *rak'ah* only for the *witr* prayers[4], although in past times they used to perform three *rak'ahs* for the said prayers. In my day Abū Isḥāq al-Marwazī[5] (*i. e.*, of Marw) issued an injunction in consequence

'Ammān Qafīz	...	...	... ⅔ bushel.
Tyrian Qafīz	...	...	... 2 bushels.
„ Kailajah	...	...	... 5 pints.
Damascene Ghirārah		...	... 4½ bushels.

[1] That district of Egypt which adjoins Syria.

[2] The *ūqiyyah* is the Greek *Οὐγγία*, or ounce. In Syria, it would contain about 5¼ English ounces, the common *raṭl* being about 6 lb.

[3] These additional prayers of Ramaḍhān consist of twenty or more rak'ahs, according to different persuasions; and are repeated between the '*ashā*' prayers and the *witr*. They are so called because the performer rests after each *tarwīḥah*, which consists of four rak'ahs and two *taslīmahs* (salutations). *See* De Sacy's Chrest. Ar., sec. ed., i. 167-8.

[4] The prayers, of uneven number, performed immediately after the '*ashā* prayers, or at any time in the night. They generally consist of three rak'ahs.

[5] A renowned doctor of the Shāfi'ite school; he died in A. H., 340 = A. D. 951 and is buried in Cairo. Nawawī, p. 650.

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of which they separated (the *witr* from the *tarāwīh*) at Jerusalem. At each *tarwīḥah*, on the rising of the Imām, the crier calling to prayer adds the words, 'God have mercy upon you!' In Jerusalem these prayers consist of six *tarwīḥahs*. The preachers in this province are only tellers of stories; but the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah have in the Aqṣā Mosque an assembly place for preaching, and they preach, reading from a volume, as do also the Karrāmites in their cloisters. It was the custom after the Friday prayers that the guards should proclaim aloud the creed, (There is no god but God)! The jurisconsults hold their assemblies between the two day-prayers, and between the two evening prayers; and the Qur'ān readers likewise hold their sittings in the Great Mosques. Of Christian feasts that are observed also by the Muslims of Syria, by which also they determine the seasons of the year, are the following: Easter, about the time of *Nairūz*; Pentecost at the time of heat; the Nativity at the time of cold; the Feast of St. Barbāra[1] in the rainy season—and the people have a proverb, which says, 'When St. Barbāra's Feast comes round, then the mason's flute may sound', meaning that he may then sit quietly at home; the Feast of the Kalends,[2]—and again, one of their proverbs is, 'When the Kalends come, keep warm and stay
183 at home';—the Feast of the Cross,[3] at the time of the grape harvest and the Feast of Lydda[4] at seed time. The months in use in Syria are the (solar months) of the Greeks: namely, Tishrīn first and second (October and November), Kānūn first and second (December and January), Shubāṭ (February), Adhār (March), Naisān (April), Ayyār (May), Ḥazīrān (June), Tammūz (July), Āb (August), and Ailūl (September). You seldom meet in Syria with any doctor of the law who teaches

[1] The Feast of St. Barbara was celebrated on the 4th day of Kānūn I. (December).

[2] The first day of Kānūn II. (January), was the Day of the Kalends. 'On this day,' says Albīrūnī (Chronology, p. 228), 'the Christian children assemble and go round through the houses, crying with the highest voice and some sort of melody "Calendas." Therefore they receive in every house something to eat and a cup of wine to drink.'

[3] The Feast of the Cross was celebrated on the 13th Ailūl (September) by Nestorian Christians, and on the 14th by other Christians. Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 307.

[4] The Feast of Lydda is the Feast of St. George. It took place on the 23rd of Naisān (April).

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heretical doctrines, or any Muslim who holds a writership; except only at Tiberias, which has always been a nursery of scribes. The scribes here in Syria, as is the case in Egypt, are Christians, for the Muslims relying on their native knowledge of the Arabic tongue do not trouble to study it as foreigners do. When attending the assembly of the Chief of the Qāḍhīs at Baghdād, I used to be ashamed at the blunders he made in speaking. However, this is not regarded as a blemish. The majority of the cambists, the dyers, bankers, and tanners of this province are Jews, while the physicians and the scribes are generally Christians. It may here be said that in five of the countries of Islām five feasts have special celebrity namely: Ramaḍhān,[1] at Makkah; the Night of the *Khatmah*,[2] at the Aqṣā Mosque; the two Feasts[3] in Iṣqiliyyah (Sicily); the Day of 'Arafah[4] at Shīrāz; and Friday in Baghdād. In addition to these the middle night of the month of Sha'bān[5] at Jerusalem, and the Day of the 'Āshūrā'[6] at Makkah, are kept with great observance. The Syrians take pride in their

[1] The month of obligatory fasting, during which the mosques, specially at Mecca, present a festive appearance at nights.

[2] *Khatmah*, completion. In the month of Ramaḍhān, portions of the Qur'ān are recited every night during the *tarāwīḥ* prayers. The recitation is so arranged that the whole of the Qur'ān is usually finished on the 27th night of the month (that is, the night preceding the 27th day), which is called "Lailatu-l-Qadr"—the Night of Power, or of the Divine decree. On this night, the Qur'ān is said to have been sent down to Muḥammad. *See* Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 478.

[3] Al-'Idu-ṣ-Ṣaghīr (the Minor Festival), or 'Idu-l-Fiṭr, on the expiration of the fast of Ramaḍhān, and Al-'Idu-l-Kabīr (the Great Festival) or 'Idu-l-Aḍhḥa which commences on the tenth of Dhu-l-Hijjah, the month of pilgrimage. The first of these festivals lasts three days, and the second, three or four days. They are both observed with public prayer and general rejoicing. The festivities with which they are celebrated are described in Lane's Modern Egyptians, pp. 479 and 487.

[4] The day of the great pilgrimage on 'Arafāt is the 9th of the month of Dhu-l-Ḥijjah.

[5] See a description of the night of the Middle of Sha'bān in Lane's Modern Egyptians, p. 411. This night is held in great reverence by the Muslims, as the period when the destiny of every living man is fixed for the ensuing year. It is the Lailatu-l-Barā'ah, or Night of Immunity, in which mercy is accorded to sinners.

[6] The tenth day of Muḥarram, held sacred on many accounts. It is the anniversary of martyrdom of al-Ḥusain, the Prophet's grandson. Lane describes the customs peculiar to this day in his Modern Egyptians, p. 428.

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dress. Both learned and simple wear the *ridā'*[1] and they do not wear shoes in summer-time, but only single-soled sandals. Their graves are in the form of mounds: the mourners walk behind the bier, and they draw forth the body gently from the bier (head-foremost) to the grave. They proceed to the burial-ground for the three days after a person's death, in order to complete the reading of the Qur'ān. The Syrians wear their rain-cloaks thrown open; and their *ṭailasāns* are not hollowed (at the neck). In ar-Ramlah the chief merchants ride Egyptian asses, with saddles, and it is only Amīrs and Chiefs who ride horses. It is only inhabitants of the villages and the scribes who wear the '*durrā'ah*'.[2] The clothing of the peasantry in the villages round Jerusalem and Nābulus consists of a single *Kisā'* only without drawers. The ovens are generally of the kind called '*furn*'; but the peasantry have *ṭābūns*, which are small ovens made in the ground, and lined with pebbles. A fire of dried dung is lighted around and above this, and when the oven is red-hot, the loaves are placed upon the pebbles. There are in Syria many cooks' shops, where dishes of lentils and *baisār*[3] are sold. They also fry in oil, beans that have already sprouted, first boiling them. These are sold for eating with olives. They also salt the Lupin and eat it frequently. From the Carob bean they make a sweet-
184 meat, which is called *qubbaiṭ*; while that made from the sugar cane is known as *nāṭif*. During the winter-time they make '*Zalābiyah*'[4] of pastry, without cross-bars. In the majority of the above customs the Egyptians are at one with the Syrians, but in some few only do the people of al-'Irāq and Aqūr resemble them.

There are iron mines in the mountains above Bairūt, and near Aleppo is found excellent red earth called Maghrah.[5] That which is found at 'Ammān, is of inferior quality. Throughout

[1] The *ridā'* is a mantle or cloak. (Dozy, p. 59, foot-note 2).

[2] *Durrā 'ah.* A woollen (or linen) garment opening in front and buttoned (Dozy, p. 177). *Kisā'* is a kind of mantle or cloak enveloping the body, it is also called حايك *Ḥaik.* (Dozy, p. 383).

[3] The *baisār* or *faisār* is a dish consisting of beans cooked in honey and milk, and generally eaten with meat.

[4] *Zalābiyah.* A kind of sweet pastry (called in Indian bazars *jalebī*).

[5] This is the mineral called *Rubrica Sinopica*; it is made use of by the druggists in the concoction of specifics, being specially employed in the clyster, and as a remedy in cases of liver disease. It is noticed by Dioscorides. (Le Strange). *See* also Sontheimer's Ibn Baiṭār, Part II, p. 522.

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Syria there are met with mountains of a reddish colour of a soft rock known as '*Samaqah*' (red sandstone). The white mountains are formed of what is called '**Ḥ**awwārah' (or chalk); it is moderately hard, and they use it for whitewashing ceilings, and for plastering the terrace-roofs of the houses. In Palestine there are quarries of white stone; and at Bait-Jibrīl is a quarry of marble. In the Ghaur districts are mines of sulphur, and other like minerals; and from the Dead Sea salt in powder is obtained. The best honey is that from Jerusalem, and from Jabal 'Āmilah, where the bees suck the thyme. The finest quality of the sauce called Murī[1] is that which is made at Jericho.

Holy Places.—We have mentioned most of these in the opening paragraph relating to this province; were we to locate them all our book would be inordinately long. I will only mention that the greater number of them are in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; they occur in less number throughout Palestine, and are still more rare in the Jordan Province. Water, in Syria, is on the whole excellent. That found at Bāniyās, however, is purgative, and the water of Tyre is constipating. At Baisān the water is heavy (and bad), while God preserve us from that of Ṣughar. The water of Baitu-r-Rām[2] is utterly bad, but nowhere will you find lighter (and better) water than at Jericho. The water of ar-Ramlah is easy of digestion, but that of Nābulus is rough. In Damascus and Jerusalem the water is the least rough, and the air is least humid. There are numerous rivers in this province, which flow into the Mediterranean Sea, with the exception of the Baradā[3] which flows below the city of Damascus, and waters that district after dividing into numerous branches. It curves round the north quarter of the city and then separates into two streams, one of which flows towards the desert and becomes a lake,[4] while the

[1] The Murī sauce is a pickle made with certain fish or meat set in salt water. It has medicinal properties, noted by Galen, Dioscorides, and Rhazes, and was known under the name of Garum or Muria. One Al-Ḥāfiḍh calls it the "Pearl of Condiments." (Le Strange.) Sontheimer II, p. 504.

[2] Baitu-r-Rām, or according to Yāqūt (I. 777) Bait Rāmah, was a well-known village situated between the Ghaur, or the Jordan valley, and al-Balqā, at a distance of 12 miles from Jericho. The ruins known as *Kharbet-el-Ram* probably mark the site of this village.

[3] The Abana of Scripture. *See* Smith's *Dict. of G. and R. Geo.* I, 749*a*.

[4] The small lake formed by the overflow of the Barada and the Phege is situated below the city, and is called *Baḥr-el-Merj*.

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other flows downwards into the Jordan. The river Jordan flows down from its source above Bāniyās, and forms a lake over against Qadas; thence again, descending to Tiberias, it traverses the lake of that name, and descending through the valleys of the Ghaur falls into the Overturned Lake. This lake is excessively salt, wild, perverse, and fœtid, set among the mountains, but free from huge waves. The Greek Sea (the Mediterranean) bounds Syria on the west; the China Sea (the Red Sea, and Gulf of Akaba) touches its southern shore. Over against Tyre lies the Island of Qubruṣ (Cyprus), said to be twelve days' journey round. It is full of populous cities, and offers the Muslims many advantages in their trade thither, by reason of the great quantities of merchandise, stuffs, and goods, which it produces. It belongs to whoever is strong enough to hold it. It lies at the distance of a day's and night's sail across the sea, and from thence to the country of Rūm is a similar distance.

185 Among the marvellous sights of the Province of Syria; there is at Jerusalem, without the city, a cavern of huge size. According to what I have heard from learned men, and have also read in books, it leads into the place where the people of Moses[1] are entombed. This I do not believe, but that it is merely a stone quarry. It has passages leading from it, along which one may go with torches.

Between Palestine and the Ḥijāz, that is between ar-Ramlah and Wailah,[2] are the stones with which the people of Lot were stoned. They lie along the Road of the Pilgrims, are striped, and both large and small.

Near Tiberias are boiling springs, which supply most of the hot baths of that town. A conduit leads to each bath from the springs, and the steam of the water heats the whole building, whereby there is no need of artificial firing. In an outer chamber they set cold water, that it may be mixed in suitable proportion with the hot by those who wish to bathe, and this water also serves in the place for the ablution. Within this district are other hot

1 Possibly referring to Korah. See the Qur'ān (xxviii. 76-81, xxix. 38).

2 From MS. C. In the words of the Qur'ān (xi.-82), these stones were "marked," that is, as some suppose, streaked with white and red, or having some other peculiar mark to distinguish them from ordinary stones. The common opinion is that each stone had the name of the person who was to be killed by it written thereon. *See* Wherry's *Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 362 *n*.

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springs, which are called al-Ḥammah[1] (the Thermal Waters). Those who suffer from itch, or ulcer, or fistula, or any other disease, come to bathe here during three days, and then afterwards they bathe in the water of another spring, which is cold; whereupon, by the mercy of God, they become cured. I have heard the people of Tiberias relate that all around these springs, down to the time of Aristotle, there were several bath-houses, each for the cure of a separate disease, and those who were afflicted thereby and bathed here were cured. Aristotle, however, requested the king of that time to have these bath-houses demolished, lest men should become independent of physicians. This account appears to me to be authentic, for this reason that it is incumbent upon every sick person who bathes here now to bathe in every part of the water, so that he may light on his particular healing place.

The Lake of Ṣughar (the Dead Sea) is a marvellous place, for the River Jordan and the River of the Sharāt both pour into it, without, however, changing its level.[2] It is said that a man does not sink easily in its waters.[3] The waters of this Lake, administered as a clyster, are a cure for many disorders. They hold a feast-day in the month of Āb (August), on which the young

[1] The medicinal hot springs of Tiberias are called by Josephus *Emmaus*, a name which he interprets to mean "warm baths." Emmaus is probably identical with the Hebrew Hammath, in Arabic Ḥammah. Josephus places these springs in the immediate neighbourhood of Tiberias. But a reference to Yāqūt (III. 509), shows that the celebrated hot springs and baths of Tiberias are not those outside the town, but at some distance from it, in a valley east of a village called al-Ḥusainiyyah. These are accounted among the wonders of the world, and they doubtless represent the hot springs and baths of Gadara, which were celebrated in ancient times, and reckoned second only to those of Baiæ, and with which none other could be compared (Smith I. 923*a*). Gadara, at the present day *Om Keiss*, is situated in the mountains on the east side of the valley of the Jordan, about 6 miles S.-E. by E. of the sea of Galilee, and to the south of the river *Yarmūk*, the Hieromax of Pliny (*Ibid.* l. 922*b*). The springs burst forth from the roots of the mountain on which the city is built, and are to this day resorted to by sick persons.

[2] This is due to the rapid evaporation of the water of this lake. The River of Sharāt is the river Arnon, which in summer is almost dried up, but is very considerable in the rainy season.

[3] This statement is confirmed by the experiments of modern travellers. The density and buoyancy of the waters is such that it is impossible to sink in it. Cf. Smith II. 525*a*.

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people and those who are smitten with sickness, have recourse thither. In the mountains of the Sharāt (Edom, or Mount Seir) also, there are hot springs, or Ḥammah.

In Palestine, during the summer time, every night when the south wind is blowing, dew falls in such quantities that the gutters of the Aqṣâ Mosque run with water.

The vane at Ḥims is a Talisman, called *Abū Riyāḥ*, which was made as a protection against scorpions.[1] For whoever takes clay and presses it thereon, obtains a cure for his sting, by God's permission; and the virtue is in the imprint of the figure not in the clay.[2] The cities of Solomon (*upon whom be peace*), notably Ba'labakk and Tadmur, are of the wonders of Syria. The Dome of the Rock, the Mosque of Damascus, and the Harbours of Tyre and Acre are others.

The situation of Syria is very pleasing. The country may be divided into four belts. The First Belt is that on the border of the Mediterranean Sea. It is level country, made up of firm sand with patches of composite soil. Of towns situated herein are ar-Ramlah, and also all the cities of the sea-coast. The Second Belt is the mountain-country, well wooded and studded with villages, amidst springs and cultivated fields. Of the towns that are situated in this part are: Bait Jibrīl, Jerusalem, Nābulus, al-Lajjūn, Kābul, Qadas, Al-Biqā' and Anṭākiyah. The Third Belt is that of the valleys of the Ghaur, wherein are found many villages and streams, also palm trees, well cultivated fields, and indigo. Among the towns in this part are Wailah, Tabūk, Ṣughar, Arīḥā', Baisān, Ṭabariyyah and Bāniyās. The Fourth Belt is that bordering on the Desert. The mountains here are high and bleak, skirting the Desert. The district has many villages, with springs of water, and groves of trees. Of the towns therein are Ma'āb, 'Ammān, Adhri'āt, Damascus, Ḥims, Tadmur and Aleppo. The sacred mountains,[3] such as the

[1] See above, Text, p. 156.

[2] Ms. C adds: There is also a Talisman in the Holy City against the bite of serpents; and behind the pulpit of the Great Mosque, there is a white stone, on which Nature has inscribed the words "*Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.* Another stone has this inscription: *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.* (Cf. Albīrūnī's *Chronology*, Sachau, p. 294.)

[3] Reading الفاضلة for الفاصلة Cf. p. 188 l. 10 of the text, where the word الشريفة is used in connection with these mountains.

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Mount of Olives, the hills of Ṣiddīqā, of the Lebanon, and of al-Lukkām, and the "Navel of the Holy Land," are among the mountains which overhang the coast.

Now on a certain day I was present at the assembly of Abū Muḥammad al-Mikālī, the chief Doctor of Law at Naisābūr, whither the jurisprudists had come for discussion. Abu-l-Haiṯham was asked whether he could give the proof that it was permissible to perform the *tayammum* with chalk (Nūrah). He based his argument upon the known saying of the Prophet—peace and blessing be upon him—'Thou, O God, hast made for me the earth as a place of prayer and also as a means of purification,' meaning thereby soil of all kinds. Retorted the questioner, 'Nay, but the soil of the plain alone is intended, and not that of the mountain.' Then the discussion and altercation became loud and long, and they prided themselves on their words. Then I said, speaking to Abū Ḏharr ibn Ḥamdān, who was one of the noisiest of the disputants—'How are you to refute a man who advances it as his opinion that the proof required is the very one given by this learned jurisconsult (*i.e.*, Abu-l-Haiṯham); for has not God Himself—may He be exalted—said "Enter ye the Holy Land;"[1] and is not the same a mountainous country?" However, Abū Ḏharr began to argue sophistically, bringing forward matters that in no way refuted the reasoning; and the jurisprudist Sahl ibnu-ṣ-Ṣu'lūkī, added, 'What is said is this "*Enter* ye the land," not "*Go ye up into the mountains.*" But here the discussion was dropped. Now if anyone say to me, why should it not be said that the gate (through which the Israelites were to enter the Holy Land) was at Jericho and God ordered them to enter thereby, and Jericho being in the Ġhaur and not in the mountains, then, in that case, that which the Imām, the son of the Imām (Sahl ibnu-ṣ-Ṣu'lūkī), brought forward was the truth; then my answer to him will be twofold. The first of them will be on the line of answers given in jurisprudence, namely, that the Holy Land is a mountainous country, this is undoubted; and Jericho lies in the plains below, and is counted among its dependencies. Now the verse of which we are speaking, clearly refers to Al-Quds (the Holy City), which is Jerusalem, and which is in point of fact situated in the mountains; it does not refer to such of the outlying towns as are in the plain or the valleys of the Ġhaur. If, however,

[1] Qur'ān, v. 24.

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it be asserted that the verse has reference to the City of the Giants, that is Jericho, which they were commanded to enter; in that case the reference would be both to the entering into the Holy Land, and the entering also into the said city (of Jericho); while, according to your interpretation, the application of the verse is restricted to the mountain-country alone; and the more extended signification we can give to the Qur'ān, the better; then I reply that God—may His name be exalted and glorified—has clearly expressed the view I have taken, in the following words: "And we gave as an inheritance unto the people who had been weak, the eastern quarters of the earth, and the western quarters thereof which we had blest,"[1] for both the plains of Palestine and its mountains are included in this saying. Therefore the words of the Israelites, 'Verily, therein is a people who are Giants,'[2] must be interpreted as meaning in the vicinity of the Holy Land. My second answer will be topographical. Inasmuch as the children of Israel were commanded to make their entry into Al-Quds (the Holy City) while the Giants were in Jericho, which same lies in the valley of the Ghaur, between the mountain-country and the Dead Sea, and seeing that it is not possible for it to be argued that the Israelites were commanded to journey by sea; then there remains no other way for them to have entered the Land except by way of the mountains, as in fact they did, for they entered the Holy Land, from below Al-Balqā' and crossed over the Jordan to Jericho. Moreover, whoever advances this proposition is reduced to one of two conclusions: either he must hold that the Israelites were commanded not to enter the mountains of the Holy City, or he must affirm that the mountains of Jerusalem and of Al-Balqā' form no part of the Holy Land. Anyone who holds either of these two opinions cannot be seriously argued with. Now the jurisprudist Abū Dharr, when I put him in this dilemma, said, in answer to me: 'Yes, but you yourself can never have entered the Holy City, for had you done so you would have known that it lies in a plain, and not among the mountains.' However, Ar-Ra'is Abū-Muḥammad checked him, and said: He comes from there.

[1] Qur'ān, vii. 133.
[2] Qur'ān, v. 25.

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I have heard my maternal uncle, 'Abdu-llāh ibnu-sh-Shawwā,' relate that a certain Sultan having a mind to take possession of Dair Shamwil,[1] which is a village lying about a *farsakh* from Jerusalem, spoke to the owner thereof, saying, 'Describe to me thy country.' And the man answered him: 'My village—may God give thee aid—is near to the heavens, lying far above the lowlands: poor in soft herbage, rich in oats: hard indeed must you labour and poor the return for your toil; weeds flourish in abundance, and what almonds there are are bitter. You sow a bushel, you reap a bushel and even then the grain you sow is better than its produce.'[2] And the Sultan cried: 'Be off with you; I'll have none of your village.'

Now, as regards the holy mountains of Syria, they are the following: Jabal Zaitā (the Mount of Olives), which overhangs the Holy City; and we have already made mention thereof.—Jabal Ṣiddīqā, which lies between Tyre, Qadas, Bāniyās and Ṣaidā. Here may be seen the Tomb of Ṣiddīqā,[3] with a mosque in its vicinity, in honour of which, a festival is held on the middle day of the month of Sha'bān when great numbers of the people of these towns make a pilgrimage to the Tomb, and the Deputy of the Sultan is also present. It so happened that once when I was sojourning in this part of the country, the middle of Sha'bānfell on a Friday, and I preached before the congregation at the invitation of the Qāḍhī Abu-l-Qāsim ibnu-l-'Abbās. In my sermon I urged them to restore this mosque, which they did, and built also a pulpit therein. One of the stories I have heard them tell, is that when a dog in pursuit of any wild animal comes to the boundaries of this Sanctuary, he stops short; and there are other stories told of a like kind. Jabal Lubnān is a continuation of Jabal Ṣiddiqā. It abounds in trees, and in fruits which are common property. There are also to be found insignificant springs of water, where a number of devotees have made for themselves houses of straw. They live on those common land fruits, and earn money by cutting what

[1] The present *Neby Samwil*, a small hamlet of mud hovels, north of Jerusalem. This village is on a very high and commanding hill, and is said to be identical with Samuel's native city, Ramathaim Sophim. Smith II. 691ŝ.

[2] Reading الا ان الذي بفرت كان انبل حبا instead of الا ان الذي نذرت كان انبل حبا which does not give any sense at all.

[3] Yāqūt calls the village where the Tomb of Ṣiddīq, the son of the Prophet Ṣāliḥ, is situated Ash-Shajarah (Vol. III. 260).

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is known as 'Persian reeds,'[1] and also myrtles, and other similar plants, which they carry into the towns for sale. Their numbers have much decreased of late.—Jabalu-l-Jaulān, lying over against the Lebanon in the direction of Damascus, as we have stated. Here it was that I met Abū Isḥāq al-Ballūṭī, with his forty companions, all of them dressed in woollen garments. These people have a mosque in which they assemble for prayer. I found Abū Isḥāq to be a very learned and pious jurisconsult of the sect of Sufyānu-th-Thaurī. I learned that they feed on acorns[2]—a fruit that is of the size of the date, but bitter. It is split in half, and sweetened. It is then ground in a mill.[3] There is also found a species of wild barley, which these people mix with the acorn-meal. Jabal Lukām.—[4] This is the most populous mountain region of Syria, also the largest in area and the most rich in fruit trees. At the present day, however, all this country is in the hands of the Armenians. Tarsus lies beyond these mountains, and Antioch is on this side of them.

The GOVERNMENT of Syria.—This is in the hands of the Ruler of Egypt. Saifu-d-Daulah had formerly obtained possession of the northern portion of the country. TAXES are light in Syria, with the exception of those levied on the caravanserais, which are oppressive, as we have mentioned in our account of the Holy City. The property tax (called Ḥimāyah) is heavy. That of the Province of Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim amounts to 360,000 Dīnārs. That of the Jordan Province is 170,000 Dīnārs. In Palestine it is 259,000 Dīnārs; and from the Damascus Province it amounts to 400,000 Dīnārs and a few thousands more. In Ibn Khurdādhbah's Book I have seen it set down that the State Land Tax (Kharāj) of the Qinnasrīn Province was 400,000 Dīnārs; that of the Ḥimṣ Province 340,000 Dīnārs; from the Jordan Province 350,000 Dīnārs; and from the Province of Palestine 500,000 Dīnārs.

In its length[5] Syria goes from Midyan of Shu'aib up to the

[1] The *Arundo Donax*.

[2] Hence the surname *Al-Ballūṭī*.

[3] Ms. C reads "It is bitter, but they soak it in water till it becomes sweet. Then after drying it they grind it and make bread of it."

[4] Or Lukkām, called also Jabal Sikkīn. Formerly, this name of Lukkām extended not only to the whole of Anti-Lebanon, but also to the chain of mountains anciently called Amanus. *See* Geog. d' Aboulf II. 7 n. 4.

[5] This paragraph is from Ms. C.

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Frontier of the Greeks, and is thirty-nine days' journey. The breadth of the Province varies—that portion lying over against the Ḥijāz is narrow, while towards the Northern Frontier it widens in extent.

DISTANCES ALONG THE HIGH ROADS.

From Ḥalab to Bālis is 2 days.[1]
From Ḥalab to Qinnasrīn is 1 day.
And it is the same to Al-Aṯhārib.[2]
From Ḥalab to Manbij is 2 days.
From Ḥalab to Anṭākiyah is 5 days.
From Anṭākiyah to al-Lādhiqiyyah is 3 days.
From Manbij to the Euphrates is 1 stage.
From Ḥimṣ to Jūsiyah is 1 stage.
Thence to Ya'āṯh[3] is 1 stage.
Thence to Ba'labakk is ½ a stage.
Thence to az-Zabadānī is 1 stage.
Thence to Damascus is 1 stage.
From Ḥimṣ to Shamsīn[4] is 1 stage.

1 From a reference to above, p. 161, it will be seen that Al-Muquddasī has not assigned any definite length to the stage or march (*Marḥalah*). It is sometimes 6 or 7 *farsaḵhs* or more; sometimes more than 10 *farsaḵhs*, and it may even be less than 6. He ordinarily computes the *marḥalah*, however, at between 6 and 7 *farsaḵhs*, or taking the *farsaḵh* at from 3½ to 4 English miles, about 25 English miles.

2 Yāqūt writes (I. 114) that Al-Aṯhārib is the name of a well-known fortress between Aleppo and Antioch, at about 3 *farsaḵhs* from the former. The fortress had already fallen in ruins at the time he wrote. He further states that at the foot of the hill on which the fortress was situated, there is a village called, after the fort, Al-Aṯhārib.

3 Called by Qudāmah *I'āṯh*. This is the road from Ḥimṣ to Damascus through the Biqā' or Coelesyria. The distances in miles according to Qudāmah are as follows: from Ḥimṣ to Jūsiyah 13 M.—Ya'āṯh 20 M.—Ba'labakk 3 M.—and thence to Damascus, turning on the left to a mountain called Ramī, 50 M.

4 Called by Qudāmah Shamsīnu-sh-Sha'ar. The distances in miles are as follows: from Ḥimṣ to Shamsīn 18 M.—Qārā 22 M.—an-Nabk 12 M.—al-Quṭayyifah 20 M.—Damascus 24 M.

Qārā is written in Yāqūt Qārah. He says it is so called from being situated on a small detached mountain, such a mountain being called in Arabic *qārah*. The village is wholly inhabited by Christians. It is large and possesses

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Thence to Qārā is 1 stage.
Thence to an-Nabk is 1 stage.
Thence to al-Quṭayyifah is 1 stage.
Thence to Damascus is 1 stage.

From Ḥimṣ to Salamiyyah is 1 stage.
Thence to al-Qasṭal[1] is 2 stages.
Thence to ad-Darrā'ah the same.
Thence to ar-Ruṣāfah is the same.
Thence to ar-Raqqah is ½ a march.

From Ḥimṣ to Ḥamāt is 1 stage.
Thence to Shaizar[2] is 1 stage.
Thence to Kafar-Ṭāb[3] is 1 stage.

several running springs, alongside of which they cultivate. (IV. 12). Robinson in his map marks Qārā as the ancient Chara.

An-Nabk is described by Yāqūt (IV. 739) as a pleasant village in the district of Dhātu-dh-Dhakhā'ir, between Ḥimṣ and Damascus. It possesses a spring remarkable for its coolness in summer and the sweetness and limpidity of its waters.

Al-Quṭayyifah is beyond *Thaniyyatu-l-'Uqāb* (a hill overlooking the campaign of Damascus), for those coming from the direction of Ḥimṣ, and is situated on the edge of the desert. Yāqūt (IV. 144). Robinson marks it as the site of Thelseæ.

[1] Yāqūt (IV. 95) says that al-Qasṭal is the name of a place or a district between Ḥimṣ and Damascus. Abu-l-Fidā' also cites it as the name of a region. It is included in the district called al-'Awāṣim.

Ad-Darrā'ah is evidently a corrupt reading for az-Zarrā'ah, which is the name of several places in Syria and elsewhere. Ibn Khurdâdhbah (p. 98) has the right reading.

Ar-Ruṣāfah is generally known as Ruṣāfat-Hishām, from having been founded or rather restored by the Umayyad Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abdi-l-Malik. It is situate in the desert, opposite to Raqqah, and at a day's journey west of the Euphrates. Yāqūt II. 784. Abul-l-Fidā', II. 47.

The distances in miles between these places are as follows: Ḥimṣ to Salamiyyah 24 M.—al-Qasṭal 30 M.—az-Zarrā'ah 36 M.—ar-Ruṣāfah 40 M.—ar-Raqqah 24 M.

[2] In the district of Apameia, situated on the Orontes, which flows to the north of it. M. Guyard is mistaken in identifying Shaizar with the ancient Cæsarea Philippi, *see* Geog.-d'Aboulf. II. 39 n 5. Shaizar is remarkable for its beautiful hydraulic machines.

[3] A small town in a waterless desert, where they manufacture earthen pots for exportation. The distances along the route from Ḥimṣ to Ḥalab are as follows: Ḥimṣ to Ḥamāh 24 M.—Shaizar 9 M.—Kafarṭab 12 M. From Qinnasrīn to Ḥalab the distance is only twelve miles.

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Thence to Qinnasrīn is 1 stage.

Thence to Ḥalab is 1 stage.

It is a two-days' journey from Damascus to either of the following towns, namely, Ba'labakk, Ṭarābulus, Bairūt, Ṣaidâ, Bāniyās, Ḥaurān, Al-Bathaniyyah and Adhri'āt.

From Damascus to the furthest limit of the Ghūṭah (the fertile plain surrounding the city) or to Bait Sar'â is in either case 1 stage.

From Damascus to al-Kuswah[1] is 2 *barīds*, or 6 miles.

Thence to Jāsim is 1 stage.

Thence to Fīq is the same.

Thence to Tiberias is 1 *barīd*.

From Bāniyās to Qadas or to Jubb Yūsuf (Joseph's Pit)[2] is in either case 2 *barīds*.

From Bairūt to Ṣaidâ, or to Ṭarābulus is in either case 1 stage.

From Tiberias to al-Lajjūn, or to either Jubb Yūsuf, Baisān, 'Aqabat Afīq,[3] al-Jashsh, or Kafar Kalā[4] is in every case 1 stage.

From Tiberias to Adhri'āt[5] or to Qadas is 1 stage.

From 'Aqabat Afīq to Nawā is 1 stage.

And thence to Damascus is 1 stage.

From Jubb Yūsuf to Bāniyās is 1 stage.

From al-Lajjūn to Qalansuwah[6] is 1 stage.

Thence to ar-Ramlah is 1 stage.

[1] The distances in miles are as follows: Damascus to al-Kuswah 12 M.—Jāsim 24 M.—Fīq 24 M.—Ṭabariyyah 6 M.

Al-Kuswah according to Yāqūt (IV. 275) is the first station on the road from Damascus to Egypt. Jāsim is the birthplace of the celebrated poet Abū Tammām, author of the *Ḥamāsah*. Fīq or Afīq is the ancient Apheca, near the Lake of Tiberias.

[2] See Yāqūt II. 18. The well into which Joseph's brothers threw him, situated according to some near the greater Jordan (the upper Jordan, between *Bahr Huleh* and the sea of Tiberias), between Bāniyās and Tiberias, at 12 miles' distance from the latter, from the direction of Damascus. Others say that it was between Nābulus and one of its villages called Sinjil.

[3] A long pass of about two miles leading over the mountains from Ḥaurān to al-Ghaur, *i.e.*, the Valley of the Jordan. The village of Afīq or Apheca is at the head of the pass from the side of Ḥaurān. *See* Yāqūt I. 332

[4] This is the village called by Qudāmah *Kafar-Lailá*, which he places at a distance of 15 miles from Tiberias. Abu-l-Fidā' (II. 28 *n* 3) has a village by the name of Kafarâ which he places in Wādi Kan'ān, at 12 miles from Jubb Yūsuf.

[5] This and the following three distances are taken from Ms. C.

[6] Yāqūt IV. 167. Qudāmah places it at 20 miles from al-Lajjūn and

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Or if you prefer, you can go from al-Lajjūn to Kafar Sābā by the post road in 1 march, and thence to ar-Ramlah in 1 march.

From Baisān to Ta'āsīr[1] is 2 *barīds*, thence to Nābulus is the same, and thence to Jerusalem is 1 stage.

From Jubb Yūsuf to Qaryatu-l-'Uyūn[2] is 2 stages.

Thence to al-Qar'ūn is 1 stage.

Thence to 'Ainu-l-Jarr[3] is 1 stage.

Thence to Ba'labakk is 1 stage.

This route goes by the name of Ṭarīqu-l-Madārij, 'the Road of Ladders.'

From al-Jashsh to Ṣūr is 1 stage.

From Ṣūr to Ṣaidâ is 1 stage.

From Ṣūr to Qadas, or to Majd Salam,[4] is 2 *barīds;* and from Majd Salam to Bāniyās is 2 *barīds.*

From Tiberias to 'Akkâ is 2 stages.

From either Nābulus, or Qadas, or Ṣaidâ, or Ṣūr, to the Jabal Lubnān (Lebanon Mountains), is in every case about 1 stage.

From 'Akkâ to Ṣūr, or from 'Akkâ to al-Kanīsah,[5] is in each case 1 stage.

From ar-Ramlah to either Jerusalem, or Bait Jibrīl, or 'Asqalān

24 from ar-Ramlah, on the Wādī 'Arâ.. Qalansuwah is still extant. *See* Quatremère, *Hist. des Sult. Mam.*, p. 258. According to Le Strange it occupied the site of the Castle of Plans of the Crusading age.

[1] Ta'āsīr has been suggested as the possible site of Jirzah, once the capital of Israel (Joshua xii. 24). It is marked in K. J.'s Map of Palestine (Be) as Teyasir, and is there said to be the ancient Asher.

[2] In Qudāmah it is called al-'Uyūn (the ancient Ijon, now Tell Dibbin). The distances in miles along this road in Qudāmah are as follows: From Ba'labakk to 'Ainu-l-Jarr 20 M.; al-Qar'ūn, a station at the bottom of the valley, 15 M.; thence, passing through the village of al-'Uyūn, to Kafarlailâ 20 M.; Ṭabariyyah 15 M.

[3] 'Ainu-l-Jarr is now contracted into 'Anjar (Aboulf II. 7 *n* 6). It is situated in the Biqā' plain, and has in its neighbourhood great ruins of hewn stones, which have been suggested as the .site of the ancient town of Chalcis ad Belum. See Smith's D of G. and R. Geog. I. 598*b*.

[4] The Mss. have Majd Salam as above, which is evidently a mistranscription for Majdal Salam. In the map of van de Velde there appears near this place a Mejdel Selim, situated to the east of the ruins of Selim (Khurbet Selim). Sprenger proposes Masjid Salām.

[5] Ms. C. According to M. de Goeje this probably represents the present Tell Keniseh, a short distance north of 'Athlīth, on the shores of the Mediterranean.

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or as-Sukkariyyah,[1] or Ghazzah, or to Kafar Sābâ, by the post-road, is in each case 1 stage.

From ar-Ramlah to Nābulus, or to Kafar Sallām, or to Masjid Ibrāhīm,[2] or to Arīḥā', is in every case 1 stage.

From ar-Ramlah to Yāfah, or to al-Māḥūz,[3] or to Arsūf, or to Azdūd, or to Rafaḥ[4] is in each case 1 stage.

From Jerusalem to either Bait Jibrīl, or Masjid Ibrāhīm, or the Jordan River, is in every case 1 stage.

From Jerusalem to Nābulus is 1 march; and from Jerusalem to Arīḥā' is 2 *barīds*.

From 'Asqalān to Yāfah, or to Rafaḥ is in each case 1 stage.[5]

From Ghazzah to Bait Jibrīl, or to Azdūd, or to Rafaḥ, is in every case 1 stage.

From Masjid Ibrāhīm to Qāwūs is 1 stage, and thence to Ṣughar is 1 stage.

From Kafar Sābâ to Qalansuwah is 1 stage.[6]

From the Jordan River to 'Ammān is 1 stage.

From Nābulus to either Arīḥā', or to Kafar Sallām, or to Baisān is in every case 1 stage.

From Arīḥā' to Baitu-r-Rām is 2 *barīds*; and thence to 'Ammūn is 1 stage.

From Ṣughar to Ma'āb is 1 stage.

And from Ṣughar to Wailah is 4 stages.[7]

From 'Ammān either to Ma'āb, or to az-Zuraiqā',[8] is in each case 1 stage.

From az-Zuraiqā' to Adhri'āt is 1 stage, and from Adhri'āt to Damascus is 2 stages.

[1] The first station on the road from ar-Ramlah to Wailah, on the gulf of Akabah.

[2] That is, Hebron.

[3] This is Māḥūz Yabnā (Iamnia), referred to on page 177 of the Text.

[4] The ancient Raphia, a maritime city in the extreme south of Palestine, a day's march, or, according to Yāqūt, 18 miles from Gaza. See Smith II. 692*a*.

[5] From Ms. C. Rafaḥ, according to Yāqūt, is two days' march from Ascalon.

[6] From Ms. C.

[7] From Ms. C.

[8] Diminutive form of az-Zarqā', mentioned on page 26 of the Text (p. 41 of this Translation) as a station on the road to Damascus. Az-Zarqā' is the present Qal'at Zarqâ, on the Zarqā' (or Jabbok) River.

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From Qaisāriyyah to either Kafar Sallām, or Kafarsābā, or Arsūf, or al-Kanīsah, is in every case 1 stage.

From Yāfah to 'Asqalān is 1 stage.

THE PROVINCE OF EGYPT (MIṢR).

This is the Province in the possession of which Pharaoh gloried over all mankind,[1] and which in the hands of Joseph maintained the inhabitants of the entire World. There will you find vestiges of most of the Prophets, the Wilderness, and the Mount of Sinai, the monumental works of Joseph and the scenes of the miracles of Moses; and it was thither that Mary fled with Jesus. Also has God repeatedly mentioned this country in the Qur'ān, and thus demonstrated its pre-eminence to all men. It is one of the two wings of the World,[2] and possesses besides countless excellences. Its metropolis is the Vault of Islām[3]; its river is the most magnificent of rivers; its bountiful crops help to keep the Ḥijāz populated; and the pilgrim season is brightened by the crowds of its populace. Both East and West are, in fact, indebted to this land, which God has placed betwixt the two seas, and the name of which He has extolled through the regions of the sunrise and of the sunset. It is enough to say that Syria with all its greatness is an outlying district of it, and that the Ḥijāz and its whole population is dependent on it for sustenance! It has also been said that it is the "high place" of which mention is made in the Qur'ān;[4] while its

1 The reference is to Qur'ān xliii, 50.—"And Pharaoh proclaimed amongst his people; said he, "O my people! is not the kingdom of Egypt mine? and these rivers that flow beneath me? etc."

2 The earth has been represented in the form of a bird, with Al-Baṣrah and Egypt for its wings. This is intended to convey the idea that were these two regions to be destroyed, the whole world would go to ruin, as in a great measure it depends on them for its supplies. See Yāqūt, IV. 546, line 12.

3 The word قبّة or "vault" is used among the Arabs for any place which serves as a centre to other places, and which exercises a sort of supremacy. The term قبّة الاسلام "Vault of Islām," was not a surname of Al-Baṣrah alone, but of other great towns. See Dozy's *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*.

4 Qur'ān, xxiii, 52.—"And we made the son of Mary and his mother a sign; and we lodged them both *on a high place*, furnished with security, and a spring." According to the commentators, the place here intended is Jerusalem, or Damascus, or Ramlah of Palestine, or Egypt, the villages of the latter country being mostly on hills. *Baiḍhāwi* in loco.

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river flows with honey in Paradise.[1] It has again[2] become the residence of the Commander of the Faithful, thus ousting Baghdād till Judgment-day[3]; its metropolis is now the proudest possession of the Muslims. However, dearth in this land continues for seven consecutive years, and grapes and figs are dear. Moreover, the customs of the Copts prevail here; and the inhabitants are often subject to widespread calamities. The country was colonized by Miṣr,[4] the son of Ḥām, son of Noah (on whom be peace) The annexed figure is the map of the country.

The Province of Egypt we have divided into seven districts six of which are populated. It contains besides wide territories with many large villages in them. The reason why there are not many towns in Egypt is that the majority of the country people are Copts, and as their boroughs do not possess a "pulpit," they cannot be called "towns," in the sense we have adopted in this book. Beginning from the direction of Syria, the districts are: 1. Al-Jifār[5]; 2. Al-Ḥauf[6];

1 It is said on the authority of Ka'bu-l-Aḥbār that four of the rivers of Paradise have been placed on earth by God, who will take them back to heaven at the end of the world: the Nile, which is the river of honey in Paradise; the Euphrates the river of wine; Saiḥān, the river of pure water; and Jaiḥān, or according to another version the Tigris, the river of milk. *See* Suyūṭī's Ḥusnu-l-Muḥāḍharah, II. 183.

2 This is not a historically correct fact, as Egypt had never been a seat of the Caliphate before its conquest by the Fāṭimites. For some time before the advent of this dynasty, Egypt had been lost to the Caliphs of Baghdād, and was governed by independent rulers; perhaps the reference here is to its again coming under the sway of the Caliphate, although under a different family.

3 The dynasty of the Fāṭimite Caliphs in Egypt, barely lasted two hundred years.

4 Miṣr recalls Mizraim, which in the Bible designates Egypt. According to Yāqūt (IV. 545), Miṣr was the son of Mizraim, the son of Ham.

5 Al-Jifār, otherwise called *Rimāl Miṣr* the (sands of Egypt), is the eastern boundary of Egypt, a region mostly arid and barren, but neither uninhabited nor unfrequented by travellers. In this region lay the principal mineral wealth of Egypt. It takes its Arabic name from the cisterns which still marks its caravan tracks. For a full description of this district, see Smith's Dictionary of G. & R. Geog., under Aegyptus, Vol. I. p. 37.

6 Al-Ḥauf is a name for all the country below Cairo and on the east side of the Nile. The country on the opposite side is known as Ar-Rīf, and includes the Delta. The districts of Al-Ḥauf and Ar-Rīf contain the largest number of villages and towns in Egypt. According to Yāqūt the Ḥauf is partitioned

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3. Ar-Rīf[1]; 4. Iskandariyyah (Alexandria); 5. Maqadūniyah[2]; 6. Aṣ. Sa'id[3]; 7. Al-Wāḥāt (the Oases).

1. The District of Al-Jifār. Its capital is Al-Faramā. Its chief towns are: Al-Baqqārah, Al-Warrādah, Al-'Arīsh.[4]

2. The District of Al-Ḥauf. Its capital is Bilbais, and among its towns are: Mashtūl, Jurjīr,[5] Fāqūs,[6] Ghaifā[7] Dabqū,[8] Tūnah,[9] Barrīm, al-Qulzum.

3. The District of Ar-Rīf. Its captial is al-'Abbāsiyyah. Among its cities are: Shubrū,[10] Damanhūr, Sanhūr, Banha-l-'Asal, Shaṭnūf, Malīj, Maḥallat-Sidr, Maḥallat-Karmīn, al-Maḥallatu-l-Kabīrah, Sandafā, Damīrah, Būrah, Daqahlah, Maḥallat-

into an Eastern Ḥauf, conterminous with the desert, and a Western Ḥauf which extends to the limits of Damietta.

[1] Ar-Rif designates now the whole of Lower Egypt. According to the text of MS. C., Ar-Rīf is the name of the country stretching along both banks of the Nile, the Ḥauf being further to the east.

[2] The name Macedonia was applied by Arab geographers to the country round the capital of Egypt. The Macedonian Era in Egypt extended from the foundation of Alexandria, in B.C. 332, to the death of Cleopatra, in B.C. 30.

[3] The province of Upper Egypt.

[4] Al-'Arīsh is the Rhinocorura of Classical writers. It is situated on the confines of Egypt and Palestine, and is about half a mile from the sea. Al-Baqqārah and al-Warrādah are both small villages in the midst of the sands on the road from Al-'Arish to Al-Faramā or Pelusium. The distances in miles are as follows: from Al-'Arīsh to Al-Warrādah, on the south-west, 18 miles; from Al-Warrādah to Al-Baqqārah, 20 miles; and from Al-Baqqārah to Al-Faramā on the sea-coast, 24 miles.

[5] Yāqūt writes the word Jarjīr. Jurjīr is a station on the summer caravan route between Al-Faramā and the capital of Egypt, and is 30 miles distant from the former. *See* Qudāmah (Biblio. Geog. Arab. part 6, p. 220).

[6] The Tell-Fakoos of the maps, also called Al-Ghāḍhirah. It is 24 miles distant from Jurjīr, on the road to the Capital.

[7] Ghaifah, a village and a pilgrim station at a day's march from the Capital.

[8] This place is more commonly known as Dabīq, whence the fine stuff called *dabīqī*, which was manufactured here, derives its name. The place had already fallen in ruins in the time of Yāqūt.

[9] *Toona Island* in *Lake Menzaleh*. It was famous for its manufacture of fine stuffs.

[10] Called in the list of the towns of Egypt on page 54 of the text Shubruwāzah. The word Shubrū or Shubrā forms part of the names of a large number of places in Egypt, as many as fifty-three *Shubrā* being cited by the author of *Al-Mushtarik*.

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Zaid, Maḥallat-Ḥafṣ, Mahallat-Ziyād, Sanhūru-ṣ-Ṣughrā, Barīs.[1]

4. The District of ALEXANDREA. Its capital is of the same name. Among its cities are: Ar-Rashīd (Rosetta), Maryūṭ,[2] Dhātu-l-Ḥumām, Barullus.

5. The District of MAQADŪNIYAH.[3] Its capital is Al-Fusṭāṭ, which is also the Metropolis. Among its towns are: Al-'Azīziyyah, al-Jīzah, 'Ain-Shams.

6. The District of Aṣ-Ṣa'īd. Its capital is Uswān. Among its towns are: Ḥulwān, Qūṣ, Ikhmīm, Bulyanā, 'Allāqī, Ajma', Būṣīr,[4] al-Fayyūm, Ushmūnain, Sumustā, Tandah, Ṭaḥā, Bahnasah, Qais.

Over aginst the district of Al-Ḥauf there are two islands in two lakes, on which are situated the towns of Tinnīs and Dimyāṭ (Damietta).

Al-Faramā[5] on the shore of the Grecian Sea [the Mediterranean]

[1] Most of the above places are described by Edrisi as large villages, situated in fertile districts.

[2] The ancient Mareia or Marea, situated nearly due south of Alexandria on a peninsula, in the south of the lake Mareotis, now *Birket-el-Mariout*. Mareia was formerly one of the principal towns in the Delta, and was celebrated for the wine it produced. *See* Smith's Dictionary of G. and R. Geography, Vol. II, 272 *b*.

[3] According to Ibnu-l-Faqīh, the name of Egypt in Old Greek is Macedonia. Al-Muqaddasī, however, restricts this to the district round the capital of Egypt. After citing the opinion of Ibn Khurdādhbah that Macedonia is one of the dependencies of Constantinople, Yāqūt adds he is unable to decide which of the two statements is the true one. It may be concluded therefore that the name Macedonia was given to this district of Egypt, in ignorance of the real situation of Macedonia. It is not improbable that a district of Egypt was called by this name consequent on the Greek conquest of the country, but no classical writer has mentioned this to be so.

[4] The village of *Behneseh* stands on part of the site of Oxyrynchus, which was the chief town of a nome in Lower Egypt, and was situated between the western bank of the Nile and the Joseph-canal. Some remains of the ancient city are still extant. *See* Smith's Dictionary of G. and R. Geog. under Oxyrynchus.

[5] The Pelusium of classical writers, and the Sin of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Arabic Al-Faramā is the Egyptian Peremoun or Peromi, which means the city of the ooze or mud. Al-Faramā was remarkable as a place of great strength, and as the key of the Delta; but since the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, it almost disappears from history. Its ruins are found at *Tineh*, near Damietta. (*See* Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Geog., II. 572*b*.) Yāqūt

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is the capital of Al-Jifār district, at a distance of one *farsakh* from the sea. It is flourishing and populous; is commanded by a fortress, and has fine markets. The town is situated in a salt marsh, which accounts for its water being brackish. The neighbourhood of Al-Faramā is the hunting ground for quails, and the home of excellent fish. Diverse things of opposite character and many other products of nature are to be found here. Several roads converge round this well-known and important town; its water, however, is saltish and the flesh of its birds causes sickness. The whole of this district of Al-Jifār is covered with golden sands, and the towns we have mentioned are scattered all over it. The district is intersected by roads and abounds in palm groves and wells, while at the distance of every six miles there is a shop. At times, however, the wind plays upon the sands, and covers the beaten tracks, rendering travelling through the district a matter of difficulty.

Bilbaithes[1] is capital of Al-Ḥauf. It is large and flourishing and abounds in villages and cultivated fields. The buildings are of mud. Al-Mashtūl[2] possesses many mills, and supplies the Ḥijāz with the major quantity of its provisions in the way of flour and biscuits. I counted, in a single season of the year, the number of loads exported, and found that as many as three thousand camels' loads were exported in every week,—being all grains and flour. Al-Qulzum[3] is an ancient town at the extremity of the Sea of

(III. 883) mentions a tradition of the Egyptians to the effect that at one time Al-Faramā was connected by land with the island of Cyprus. He also says that the town possessed quarries of black and white marble which are now submerged by the sea.

[1] More correctly Bilbīs, which is more in accord with its Egyptian appellation *Phelbis*. Some Arab writers place the land of Goshen in the neighbourhood of Bilbais. (*See* Reinaud's Abul-Fidā' II. 166, note 4).

[2] Yāqūt (IV. 537) says that Mashtūl is the name of two villages, both situated in the Sharqiyyah, or Eastern, district. The first, which is on the right of the road leading from the capital, is called Mashtūlu-ṭ-Ṭawāḥīn or Mashtūl of the Mills, and is a well-built place yielding a large revenue. The other is called Mashtūlu-l-Qāḍhī. The distance from Al-Qāhirah to Mashtūl is 18 miles, the road passing through 'Ain Shams and Al-Kūmu-l-Aḥmar.

[3] From the Greek κλύμα which means 'a place washed by the waves, the sea-beach.' Yāqūt derives it from an Arabic root, *qalzama*, meaning 'to swallow,' and says that the gulf on which it is situated was so called from its dangerous character to navigation. Here, he says, were Pharaoh and his people drowned.

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China. It is a dry and arid place, waterless and without herbage or cultivation; nor is there found any milk, or fuel or trees nor grapes or any fruit. Water is brought to them in ships, and also on the backs of camels from a place at a distance of six miles called Suwais [Suez]; drinkable water but of very bad quality. A common saying here is the following, 'The provisions of the inhabitants of Qulzum come from Bilbais; their drinking water comes from Suwais; they eat goat's meat and use the roofs of their houses for fuel.' It is one of the filthiest spots in the world, and the waters of the baths are intensely bitter. A dreary and depressing place, the route to which is beset with difficulties; still, its mosques are well built, and it contains palatial buildings and profitable marts; it is the store-house of Egypt and the port of the Ḥijāz and a basis of supplies for pilgrims. [As an instance of the scarcity of fuel there I may mention that] I once bought a dirham's worth of gourds, and had to spend another dirham on fuel [with which to cook them]. This is not a pleasant district, and I see no advantage in giving an account of the remaining towns in it.

Al-'Abbāsiyyah[1] is the capital of Ar-Rīf district. It is an ancient town, populous and pleasant. It obtains its supply of drinking-water from the Nile, and is a place of great fertility and abundance. The buildings are more spacious than those of Miṣr.[2] Divers articles of opposite kinds are to be found here, which are however imported from outside. The town has also a good mosque built of brick, possesses ample supplies and is besides an important centre. Al-Maḥallatu-l-Kabīrah [is divided by the river into] two sides, the further side being called Sandafā. On each of these sides there is a mosque, that of the

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[1] From footnote *c* on page 194 of the text, it is evident that M. de Goeje takes this 'Abbāsiyyah to be the same as Qaṣr 'Abbāsah, or simply 'Abbāsah, mentioned in Yāqūt (III. 600) as the first Egyptian town in the direction of Syria, at a distance of 15 *farsakhs* from Al-Qāhirah. The latter, however, cannot be the 'Abbāsiyyah of our text; for, while Yāqūt and Abu-l-Fidā' agree that 'Abbāsah is quite a modern town, it having been founded by 'Abbāsah the daughter of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn at about 893 of our era, Muqaddasī ascribes to 'Abbāsiyyah a great antiquity. Besides, as the capital of Ar-Rīf district, its position must be within the Delta; while Qaṣr 'Abbāsah must have stood much farther to the east.

[2] The capital of Egypt.

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Maḥallah being placed in its centre and that of Sandafā pleasantly situated on the bank of the river.

The Maḥallah quarter is more populous and has a good oil market. People go backwards and forwards in boats: so that in my mind I likened it to Wāsiṭ. Damīrah also is on the river bank; it is both extensive and populous. Its melons are of rare excellence.

Al-Iskandariyyah [Alexandria][1] is a handsome town on the
197 shore of the Grecian sea, possessing an impregnable fortress. It is a noble city, abounding in pious and devout men. The inhabitants obtain their supply of drinking-water from the Nile, which reaches them in the season of its flood through an aqueduct filling their cisterns. The town resembles Syria in its climate and customs; it receives a copious supply of rain; and collects together the products of diverse climes. The surrounding district is very fertile, and produces excellent fruits and fine grapes. The town itself is agreeable and clean; and the buildings are of marine stone. There are marble quarries also. It possesses two mosques. The cisterns have doors which are closed at night lest thieves should make their way up through them. All the towns in this district are populous and pleasant, and round about them grow the carob and olives and almonds; and their fields are dependent only on rain. Near Alexandria the Nile discharges itself into the Sea of Rūm. The city was founded by Zū'l Qarnain,[2] and a strange story is told in connection with its foundation.[3]

Al-Fusṭāṭ[4] is a metropolis in every sense of the word; for in

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[1] Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great in B.C. 332. It passed into the hands of the Arabs in A.D. 640.

[2] ذو القرنين *Zū'l Qarnaín*, Alexander the Great.

[3] Reading ولها قصة عجيبة instead of ولها قصبة عجيبة, the reading of the text. Cf. Yāqūt, I. 256 *et seq.*

[4] Fusṭāṭ or *Old Cairo* was built in the neighbourhood of Memphis; but unlike the old capital of Egypt, it was built on the eastern bank of the river. As we gather from Yāqūt (III. 896), it was the policy of 'Umar to have the capital of the newly-conquered countries so situated as to be freely accessible by land from the centre of Government, no large river being allowed to intervene between the Caliph and his lieutenants. As for the name *Fusṭāṭ*, which means "Pavilion," a pretty story is told of how when 'Amr ibnu-l-'Āṣ had made himself master of the fortress which had stood on the site of the new city, and was on the point of marching on Alexandria, when he ordered his

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addition to having within it all the departments of the State, it is the seat of residence of the Commander of the Faithful himself. It is situated midway between the Occident and the main country of the Arabs, is of wide extent and is very populous. The district around it is beautifully verdant. Its fame has spread and its glory has increased, for verily it is the capital of Egypt, it has effaced Baghdād and is the glory of Islām and the centre of the world's commerce. The City of Peace [1] cannot compare with it in greatness. It is the treasure-house of the West and the emporium of the East, and its seasons are fruitful. Among the capitals none is more populous than this city, which teems with great and learned men. Its commercial products and specialities are wonderful, and its markets, and means of livelihood, excellent. Its baths are the acme of perfection, and its market-places are goodly and pleasing. In no city of Islām is the mosque so thronged with large congregations, nor are the people so richly adorned; nor can any river bank boast of more boats than this. The city is more populous than Naisābūr, finer than Al-Baṣrah and larger than Damascus. Its viands are delicate and its savoury meats delicious; sweetmeats are cheap, and bananas and fresh dates plentiful, vegetables and firewood are abundant. The water is wholesome and the air health giving. It is a veritable mine of learned men. The winter here is very pleasant. The inhabitants are peaceable and prosperous, and very kind and charitable. They read the Qur'ān with a pleasant intonation; and they are well known for their devotion to good deeds; while the sincerity of their worship is known throughout the world. They 198
enjoy freedom from injurious rains, and are secure against turbulent evildoers. They exercise great judgment in the selection of their preachers and their leaders in prayer, nor do they place at their head any but the good and virtuous, at however great a cost to themselves. Their judge is always a man of dignity, and

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tent to be struck, and it was discovered that a dove had built her nest at the head of the pole. "She has taken sanctuary with us!" said 'Amr, "let the tent stand where it is till the eggs have hatched and the young are on the wing." This was done, and when subsequently the city was built on this spot it was named "the Pavilion" in memory of this incident.

[1] The Fāṭimids removed the seat of Government from Al-Mahdiyyah to Cairo in A.H. 362 (A.D. 972). Their dynasty came to an end in A.H. 567 (A.D. 1171).

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their *muḥtasib* has the authority of a prince. They are never exempt from the supervision of the Sulṭān and his minister. Had it not also many defects this city would be without equal in the whole world. The town stretches for about two-thirds of a farsakh, in tiers one above the other. It was formerly composed of two quarters [one on either side of the river], namely, Fusṭāṭ and Al-Jīzah, but later on one of the Caliphs of of the House of 'Abbās opened a canal from the river encircling one portion of the town, and this portion henceforth became known as Al-Jazīrah [the Island] because it lay between the main river and the canal. The canal itself was called "the Canal of the Prince of the Faithful" [1]; it supplies the town with drinking-water. The houses in Miṣr are each of four stories, or five, like watchtowers. Light is admitted from openings in the centre. I have heard it stated that as many as two hundred persons live in a single house; and they say that when Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad Al-Qarmaṭī entered Miṣr,[2] the people went out to meet him; and he, seeing them like a cloud of locusts, was alarmed and asked what this meant. The reply was, 'These are only the sight-seers of Miṣr,' and those who do not come out are still more numerous.' I was one day walking along the bank of the river, and wondering at the great number of ships at anchor or under way when a man accosted me, saying, 'Of what country art thou?' I replied, 'I am from the Holy City.' He then said, "It is a large city, but I tell thee, my friend (may God preserve thy honour), that of ves-

[1] The canal here referred to is the canal of Trajan, which was completed in A.D. 106. At the period of the Muḥammadan conquest, this canal had fallen into decay; but it was repaired and reopened by 'Amr ibnu-l-'Āṣ, at the command of the then Caliph 'Umar ibnu-l-Khaṭṭāb. Hence, the canal came to be known as *Khalīj Amīri-l-Mu'minīn*, or "Canal of the Commander of the Faithful. During the reign of Al-Manṣūr, the second Caliph of the House of 'Abbās, the canal was ordered to be filled up in order to prevent supplies being carried to the rebel of Medina, the 'Alawid Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi-llāh ibni-l-Ḥasan. How faulty Muqaddasī's knowledge of history was, will appear from his ascribing the opening of this canal to the very dynasty who were responsible for its ruin.

[2] This was in A.H. 363 (A.D. 973). The Ikhshīdids had to pay a yearly tribute to the Qarāmiṭah; but when Egypt came under the sway of the Fāṭimids, Al-Mu'izz stopped this tribute. Al-Qarmaṭī marched on Cairo to reduce his enemy; but being out-witted, he had to fall back, and died on his way to his capital, Al-Aḥsā'. *See* Abu-l-Maḥāsin, II. 445; Ibnu-l-Athīr, VIII. 9.

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sels along this shore and of vessels that have left it for different towns and villages, so many are there that were they to go to your native town they would be able to carry away its inhabitants, and all that appertains to it, with the stones thereof and the wood thereof, so that one should say, 'There was once a city here.'" I once heard it said that nearly ten thousand worshippers stand in front of the Imām during the Friday prayers.[1] This statement I could not believe until I went one Friday among the early attendants to the *Sūqu-ṭ-Ṭair*,[2] when I found the case nearly as was stated. And once, on arriving somewhat late to the Friday prayers I found the lines of worshippers extending to more than a thousand yards from the mosque, and I saw the market-places, and the places of worship, and the shops that surround the mosque filled on every side with worshippers. 199
This mosque is known as *As-Suflānī*.[3] It was founded by 'Amr ibnu-l-'Āṣ,[4] whose pulpit[5] is still preserved. The mosque is well built with mosaic patterns here and there on its walls. It is supported on pillars of marble and is larger than the mosque of Damascus. The crowding in this is greater than in any of the other six mosques[6] in the town. It is surrounded by markets on every side, except that, on the side facing the Qiblah, there stands between the markets and the mosque the Dāru-sh-Shaṭṭ, as well as the store-rooms and the place of ablution attached to the mosque. This quarter is the most flourishing in Miṣr, while to

1 This is in accordance with the rite of Mālik.

2 The Bird-fanciers' market, one of several approaches to the mosque.

3 The Lower.

4 For a history of the mosque of 'Amr, the oldest mosque in Egypt, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 579, 591.

5 From As-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusnu-l-Muḥāḍharah*, we learn that 'Amr had set up a pulpit in his mosque, but that on 'Umar remonstrating with him, he broke it down. "Is it not enough for thee," 'Umar wrote, "that thou shouldst be standing, while the body of the Muslims are sitting at thy feet?" The same authority states that a new pulpit was placed in the mosque by Qurrah ibn Shuraik, Governor of Egypt, in A.H. 93. This does not mean, however that during all this time the mosque remained without a pulpit; for we read in another place in the same work, that when Qurrah pulled down the mosque by order of Al-Walīd in order to enlarge it, he removed the old pulpit to Qaisāriyyatu-l-'Asal, where the Friday prayers were held during the rebuilding of the mosque.

6 These are, according to the text of MS. C. (199*e*): the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn; a mosque in Al-Jazīrah; another in Al-Jīzah; a mosque built outside

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the left stands the Zuqāqu-l-Qanādīl [1] [the Street of the Lamps], a street of which you can form no conception. The "*Fauqānī* [2]" mosque, on the other hand, was founded by the House of Ṭailūn [3]; it is larger and of greater splendour than the "*Suflānī*" mosque, built on massive pillars of stuccoed brick, and has lofty roofs. In the centre there is a vaulted chamber on the model of that of Zamzam, and a supply of water for visitors.[4] This mosque overlooks not only the mouth of the canal, but also a part of it; it has several added portions, while at the back of it there are handsome residential quarters. The minaret is of stone; it is small, and the steps leading to the top are on the outside. On the direct line between the Lower and Upper mosques stands the Mosque of 'Abdu-llah, built in conformity with the dimensions of the Ka'bah. A full description of the markets and public buildings of this great city would extend to a great length; but we may say that it is the largest of the capital cities of the Muslims, and their greatest pride and the most populated of their towns. Notwithstanding its great population I have bought in it the very best and whitest bread (in fact they do not bake any other) at the rate of thirty pounds a dirham, eggs at eight for

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the town in a place called Al-Qarāfah, by the mother of one of the Fāṭimid Caliphs (*Ummu-l-Maghribī*); another at the place called Al-Mukhtārah; and lastly a mosque in Al-Qāhirah, evidently Al-Jāmi'u-l-Azhar.

1 Zuqāqu-l-Qanādīl was the name of a famous street in Old Cairo, alongside of which the Arab nobility had their residences; hence it was also called "Zuqāqu-l-Ashrāf." The name "Street of the Lamps" had its origin in the fact that the residents in this noble street had lamps hung over the entrance of their houses in all seasons of the year. The street was lined by rows of beautiful shops, where books, stationery, ebony and glass-ware, and other articles of rare manufacture were exposed for sale. *See* Yāqūt, II. 937.

2 Or Upper.

3 The mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, vulgarly called Jāmi' Tailūn, "the Mosque of Ṭailūn," was built in A.H. 263 (A.D. 876). For a description of this mosque, "the earliest authentic Arab building in Egypt," see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 584, 586. The dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids lasted 37 years only, and numbered five rulers. Aḥmad, the founder of the mosque, was the first of the line. He reigned from A.H. 254 to 270 (A.D. 868—883), or nearly sixteen years.

4 As-Suyūṭī, in his work on Egypt (*Ḥusnu-l-Muḥāḍharah*, II. 139), says that this chamber contained beverages and medicines of all kinds, and that servants were appointed therein, as well as a doctor who attended every Friday to minister to the worshippers in cases of emergency.

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a *dānaq*, and quinces seventy for a dirham; plantains and dates are also cheap. The fruits of Syria and Al-Maghrib reach it at all seasons, and travellers are ever coming to it from Al-'Irāq and the Eastern countries, and the ships of the Peninsula [1] and of the countries of Rūm are ever ploughing their way to it. Its commerce is marvellous, and its trades are profitable and its wealth abundant. Nowhere will you find sweeter water, nor more amiable inhabitants, nor finer linen, nor a more beneficent river. Its houses, 200
however, are cramped and full of fleas; the rooms are fœtid and gloomy. Fruits are scarce; the water is muddy, the wells are foul, and the houses filthy and swarming with bugs. Chronic skin disease is rampant; meat is very dear, while dogs are a perfect pest. The people use horrible oaths and practise abominable customs; they are always in dread of famine and the failure of the Nile, and on the verge of compulsory exile. They are at all times expecting some calamity. Their old men do not abstain from the drinking of wine, nor do their women refrain from adultery. Thus, every woman has two husbands, and old men are often found drunk. Even in their religion, they are divided into two factions; to say nothing of swarthy complexion and their debased language. Al-Jazīrah [the Island [2]] is scanty of population. The mosque and the Nilometer [3] are at one end of it, near the bridge, on the side nearest the metropolis. Here are many gardens and groves of palm trees, while the pleasure-garden of the Commander of the Faithful lies in close proximity to the canal, at a place called Al-Mukhtārah.[4]

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[1] Jazīratu-l-'Arab: Arabia.

[2] Known at a later period, and up to the present day, as the island of Ar-Rauḍhah, from the name of a pleasure-garden, which was laid out on the north side of the island by Al-Afḍhal Shāhanshāh, son of Amīru-l-Juyūsh Badr al-Jamālī. Al-Afḍhal, the powerful minister of the Fāṭimid Caliphs, Al-Musta'lī and Al-Āmir, was assassinated in A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121). For his life see *Ibn Khallikān*, life No. 285.

[3] This Nilometer for measuring the rise of the Nile was completed in the beginning of A.H. 247 (A.D 861), and with very slight alterations survives in the building now existing. It is on the southern side of the island, in the east corner facing the entrance of the canal. The author describes the *miqyās* in his next chapter.

[4] This place takes its name from *Al-Mukhtār*, a pleasure-garden planted by Al-Ikhshīd in the year 325 (A.D. 936), on the site of the dock which had existed

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Al-Jīzah is a town on the far side of the main stream. A bridge connected it formerly with Al-Jazīrah, until this was removed by order of the Fāṭimide ruler of Egypt. The town possesses a mosque, and is, in fact, more flourishing and larger than Al-Jazīrah. It is the starting point of the high road to Al-Maghrib. The canal meets the main river below Al-Jazīrah, at Al-Mukhtārah. Al-Qāhirah[1] is a town built by Jauhar, the Fāṭimide general,[2] after his conquest of Egypt and his subjection of its people. It is large and well-built, and has a handsome mosque. The royal palace stands in its centre. The town is fortified and has iron plated gates. It is on the highway to Syria, and no one can enter Al-Fusṭāṭ without passing through it, as both the one and the other are hedged in between the mountain[3] and the river. The *Muṣallā*, or place where the public prayers of the two festivals are held, is situated to the rear of Al-Qāhirah; while the graveyards lie between the city and the mountain. Al-'Azīzīyyah[4] is dilapidated and in ruins. It was the capital of the country in olden days, and the residence of the Pharaoh, and there his palace is still to be seen, as well as the mosque of Jacob and

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there since the year 54 of the Hijrah, but which he removed to Old Cairo, in the mainland. These gardens continued to be the recreation grounds of the rulers of Egypt throughout the reign of the Ikhshīdids, and up to the time of our author, when the quarter in which they were situated had grown into quite a small town with its own particular mosque, its governor and its magistrate.

[1] The name Al-Qāhirah (*anglicé* Cairo) is derived from the Arabic *qahara* "to conquer." This name, which may be rendered "the Victorious," was given to the new capital as a presage of victory against the attacks of enemies and not as our author apparently inclines to think, in honour of the conquest of the country by Jauhar. See Géog. d'Aboulf., II. 148.

[2] For the life of this famous general, whose death occurred in A.H. 38 (A.D. 992), see Ibn Khall., de Slane, I. 340.

[3] Al-Muqaṭṭam.

[4] Yāqūt (III 670) mentions as many as five villages in Egypt named Al-'Azīzīyyah, all of which he says were called after Al-'Azīz ibnu-l-Mu'izze the Fāṭimide ruler of Egypt (A.H. 365—386, A.D. 975—996). One of these villages Yāqūt places in the district of Al-Jīzah, and this is doubtless the 'Azīzīyyah of the text. Al-Muqaddasi's description of this place leaves no room for doubt that it corresponds with the ancient Memphis, which was situated about 10 miles south of the present *Gizeh*. The site of Memphis is now marked by the village of *Mitranieh*.

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Joseph. 'Ain-Shams[1] is a town on the highroad of Syria with widely cultivated fields, and here is constructed one of the dams which confine the waters of the Nile during its flood. The mosque stands in the market-place of the town. Al-Maḥallah[2] is a town on the Alexandria arm of the river. It possesses an elegant mosque, but has not many markets. In other respects, it is a flourishing place, has a delightful strand and a beautiful river view. Facing it is Ṣandafā, which is a flourishing place possessing a mosque. Al-Maḥallah and Ṣandafā I have compared to Wāsiṭ, save that there is no bridge between them, but people cross in boats. Ḥulwān is a town in the direction of Upper Egypt (Aṣ-Ṣa'īd), full of caves and quarries and wonderful things. It possesses two public baths, built one 201
above the other. The remaining towns in this district are all situated on either the main stream of the river or one of the other of its two arms.

Uswān is the capital of Upper Egypt (Aṣ-Ṣa'īd), on the Nile. It is a large and flourishing town, and has a lofty minaret. It abounds in palm trees and vines and other gifts of Nature, and produces many articles of commerce. It is one of the most important cities in Egypt. Ikhmīm, a town abounding in palms, is situated on one of the branches of the Nile. It has many vines and cultivated fields. It is the native town of Dhū-n-Nūn, the Ascetic. This district occupies the most elevated part in Egypt,

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[1] The Greek *Heliopolis*, or the City of the Sun: the On or Bethshemesh of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was, as the name implies, the seat of the worship of the Sun, and stood on the eastern side of the Pelusiac, a branch of the Nile, a little below the apex of the Delta, about twenty miles N.E. of Memphis. The village of *Matariyyah*, about 6 miles N.E. of Cairo, cover a portion of the ancient site of Heliopolis. 'Abdul-l-Laṭif, an Arabian physician of Baghdād, visited the ruins of this city about the close of the 12th century A.D., and he describes among other remarkable remains the two famous obelisks called Pharoah's needles. See Smith's *Dict. of G and R. Geog.* for a full description of Heliopolis.

[2] A town called Al-Maḥallah, with a village of the name of Sandafā opposite to it, has already been described on page 196 of the text, in almost identical terms. This second Maḥallah is, however, said to be situated on the Alexandrian arm of the Nile; but while there is undoubtedly a place near these parts called Maḥallat, Ṣanūf, the only other known Ṣandafā, is situated in the district of Bahnasā, on the main stream of the river, before its division into the *Rosetta* and *Damietta* branches.

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and the Nile issues forth from within its borders. Al Fayyūm is an important place, with fields producing excellent rice and flax of inferior quality. It has a number of rich villages called Al-Jauhariyyāt. Al-'Allāqī is a town on the outskirts of the district on the road to 'Aidhāb. As for the Wāḥāt (Oases), they formed in ancient times a rich district, with many trees and fields. Even in the present day, there are found in them all kinds of fruits and sheep and cattle which have become wild. The oases are contiguous to the country of Aṣ-Sūdān, and touch also the boundary of the Province of Al-Maghrib, in which some have included them.

Tinnīs, situated between the Sea of Ar-Rūm and the Nile, is a small island in a lake, the whole of which has been built as one city. And what a city! It is Baghdād on a smaller scale, and a mountain of gold, and the emporium of east and west; with pretty markets and cheap fish. Frequented by people from all quarters, it possesses all sorts of good things, with a delightful sea-shore, an exquisite mosque and lofty palaces. It is a town of many advantages and ample resources, but is situated on a narrow island encircled by the sea. It is, besides, a depressing and filthy place, where water is locked up in cisterns. Most of its inhabitants are Copts. Filth is thrown into the public streets. The town manufactures coloured stuffs and garments. In the neighbourhood there is a place where the dead of the infidels are laid up one on another; but the graveyards of the Muslims are in the centre of the town. Dimyāṭ (Damietta): one sails in this same lake for a day and night, sometimes meeting with fresh water and narrow channels till one reaches another town, which
202 is more pleasant and spacious, of wider area and more open and more frequented [than Tinnīs]. It has also more fruits [than the latter town], and is better built and has has a more ample supply of water; while its artisans are more skilled, its stuffs finer, and its manufactures more finished, its baths are better, its walls are stronger and it has fewer disagreeable smells than Tinnis. It possesses a stone fortress, and has many gates and a large number of well-garrisoned military outposts. An annual festival is held here, and the [champions of the faith] flock to it from every side. The Sea of Rūm (the Mediterranean) is within earshot of it, and the houses of the Coptic inhabitants of the town are situated on its shore, while the Nile discharges itself into the sea at this spot. Shaṭā is a village between these two towns

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situated on the lake. It is inhabited by Copts, and from it the stuff called *Shaṭawī* derives its name; while Ṭaḥā is a village in Upper Egypt (Aṣ-Ṣa'īd), where woollen cloths of very high quality are manufactured. From the latter village was the Jurist, the Imām Abū Ja'far Al-Azdī. At Bahnasah also they manufacture curtains and coverlets; while the best quality of flax is grown in Būṣīr.

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